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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays addresses the role of culture in the functioning of families and the socialization of children. Following an introduction by Irving Sigel, the 15 essays are: (1) "Parent-Child Interactions in Urban Indian Families in New Delhi: Are They Changing?" (Jaipaul Roopnarine and Ziarat Hossain); (2) "Chinese Families" (Harold Stevenson and others); (3) "A Comparison of the Parent-Child Relationship in Japan and the United States" (Alan Fogel and others); (4) "The Socialization of Australian Boys and Girls in Middle Childhood for Independence and Achievement" (Alan Russell and Graeme Russell); (5) "Family and Socialization in Turkey" (Cigdem Kagitcibasi and Diane Sunar); (6) "Moral Socialization of the Child in the Soviet Union from Birth to Age Seven" (E. V. Subbotskii); (7) "The Socialization of Instrumental Competence in Families in the United States" (D. Bruce Carter and Wendy Middlemiss); (8) "The Parent-Child Relationship and Socialization in the Context of Modern Childhood: The Case of Sweden" (Gunilla Dahlberg); (9) "Family and Parent-Child Relations in Spain" (Jesus Palacios); (10) "Families in Puerto Rico: An Analysis of the Socialization Process from a Macrostructural Perspective" (Sheila Archilla); (11) "Mother-Infant Interactions of Haitian Immigrants and Black Americans Living in Miami" (Tiffany Field and others); (12) "Family Relationships and Patterns of Childrearing in the Caribbean" (Garrett Lange); (13) "Parenting in Polynesia: A View from the Marquesas" (Mary Martini and John Kirkpatrick); (14) "The Parent-Infant Relationship and Social-Emotional Development among Aka Pygmies" (Barry Hewlett); and (15) "The Cultural Context of Socialization: A Much Ignored Issue!" (Jaipaul Roopnarine and D. Bruce Carter). Each essay includes references. (TJQ)

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Parent–Child Socialization in Diverse Cultures

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VOLUME 5

VOLUME EDITORS:

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Introduction

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The volume of essays by Roopnarine and Carter is a timely addition to the literature in applied developmental psychology because of the increased emphasis on working with different ethnic/cultural groups. This set of essays is timely because our society has moved dramatically away from the *melting pot* concept to a recognition that we are a pluralistic society made up of diverse ethnic and racial groups, each with its own cultural identity. To carry out applied work in this context requires a shift in cultural orientation. These essays will contribute to that shift by describing in some detail how various cultures socialize their young and how families function.

To grasp the practical implication of this comment, it is necessary to begin with a definition of applied developmental psychology. Although there is no agreed-upon definition, in the simplest sense, applied developmental psychology can be conceptualized as the application of psychological principles and knowledge to real-world situations, for example, evaluating day care programs, examining the consequences of teenage pregnancy on children and mothers. Since the social world, especially in the United States, is a multiethnic/racial/cultural society, understanding the centrality of cultural forces is a necessity. Since it is a culture which serves to define values, beliefs, and actions of families, it is imperative and in fact a virtual necessity for the applied developmental psychologist to develop a knowledge base of cultures. It is through such knowledge a culture-centric perspective should emerge to replace a prevalent ethnocentricism. To help us move toward a culture-centric perspective, I have invited Roopnarine and Carter to organize a volume which would address the role of culture in the functioning of families and the socialization of children. They chose to carry out this mission by enlisting the help of colleagues working in different cultures to provide a broad spectrum of studies of diverse cultures, many of whom are represented in the United States. Even though this group of essays does not cover all possible cultures represented in the United States, an impossible task for one volume, it enables the reader to use this background information to gain an in-depth understanding of the cultural backgrounds of members of diverse cultural groups living in the United States. The interested reader can use this volume as a basis for a cultural reorientation. Such a reorientation hopefully will lead to an increased sensitivity to the ways cultures influence every aspect of life. It will become readily apparent that individuals are embedded in cultures which influence such obvious activities as the food that is eaten and the language that is spoken, as well as more subtle ways of acting, perceiving, and thinking. So, to effectively apply already discovered developmental psychological knowledge to populations other than the ones from whom the knowledge was obtained, it is necessary to understand how other groups function. To be successful in such an application, a culture-centric perspective is needed. Important as sensitivity to diversity is, it is but a beginning step toward understanding. Knowledge of particular cultural patterns is also needed.

In effect, there are at least three reasons for the applied developmental psychologist reader, either a professional or graduate student, for a volume such as this.

First, to provide the reader detailed descriptions of dramatically diverse cultures so that they have enough material by which to compare and contrast these various groups regarding their patterns of socialization. Such comparisons enable the students to come to terms with such issues as universals in human development as well as cultural specificity.

Second, to demonstrate that the understanding of human development requires a sensitivity to the role of culture as a powerful source of influence on the course of development.

Third, to develop methods of research and knowledge application based on the insights derived from such a study.

Roopnarine and Carter have provided such a beginning with this group of essays. Study of this volume can start the applied developmental psychologist on an exciting journey into other cultures.

In conclusion, the volume provides an excellent opportunity for the student and professional applied developmental psychologists to have in one place a set of basic material for the beginning of serious attention to the social-cultural and historical nature of societies as sources of influence on development. Such a focus should enrich not only our understanding of human development, but also enhance the application of developmental principles to relevant problems.

1

Parent–Child Interaction Patterns in Urban Indian Families in New Delhi: Are They Changing?*

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It is rather a formidable task to accurately describe aspects of any culture within a single chapter. It is even a riskier undertaking to attempt to convey the cultural practices and belief structures of a civilization that has such a lengthy history as India. Nevertheless, it is a venture that is necessary in order to examine the early patterns of socialization in a country that has remained relatively stable in terms of family social organization until a few decades ago. We hope our analysis will help broaden theoretical understanding of child development within a wider context. General statements about India are not meant to mask subcultural differences. Rather, we believe that a few defining concepts are integral to life in India. These concepts form the core of day-to-day experiences and affect human interpersonal relationships.

In this chapter, we discuss patterns of parent–infant interaction and caregiving in a group of dual-earner couples living in the city of New Delhi, India. This type of familial arrangement reflects a growing trend in urban areas in India. It is our goal to pinpoint the extent to which the changing social organization of urban families influences their modes of interactions with their babies. Of particular interest to us is the father's involvement with babies in this type of familial arrangement relative to that of mothers. The following discussion pertains to the Hindu segment of the population in India.

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*The data were collected while the first author was an Indo-U.S. Subcommission Senior Professor of Psychology at the American Institute of Indian Studies and Lady Irwin College of the University of Delhi 1987–88. The research was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation through the Committee on the International Exchange of Scholars and by funds from the Indian Government through University Grants Commission. The support is gratefully acknowledged. We thank Dr. S. Anandalakshmy and her entire staff at Lady Irwin College and Dr. P. Mahenderatta and his entire staff at the American Institute of Indian Studies for their kindness, support, and hospitality. Finally, we extend a heartfelt thanks to the families who allowed us to take a peek at their dynamic world.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PARENT–CHILD RELATIONS IN INDIA

As has been noted by numerous scholars (Kakar, 1978; Ross, 1967, for example), India is made up of individuals who belong to "countless" castes and diverse linguistic and religious groups. Despite such diversity in belief structures and languages, the various groups have co-existed in a coterminous fashion and have maintained lifestyles that border a subsistence economy for centuries. Furthermore, in spite of the diversity, certain common threads are basic to the social and structural organization of the Indian family. These include strong kinship networks, castes, and religious belief structures. Thus, if one were to traverse the landscape of India, Indians appear to have common moral beliefs and a general outlook on life (Bachmann, 1942).

The joint family system remains the major context for the socialization of young children in India. Early Sanskrit scriptures convey descriptions of the joint family system pretty much the way we know it today. The largely agricultural economy that required very little technological specialization, coupled with deep-rooted customs and traditions, ensured a stable way of life in most of India.

It has been suggested that the indigenous people of India, the Dravidians, were organized along a matriarchal system. However, these people were driven southward as the Aryans settled India from the north around 1000 B.C. The Aryans, organized along patriarchal lines, and the Dravidians began to borrow the customs of each other. Gradually, after centuries, a good deal of assimilation occurred in which the patriarchal system infiltrated the structural organization of most south Indian families (Karve, 1953; Ross, 1967). Today, India's joint family systems are largely patriarchal.

The joint family system varies according to size, the number of generations living together, and the number of married offspring. Ross (1967) described four basic types of familial structural arrangements in India: (a) *the large joint family* is comprised of three or more generations who share a common living space and pool their economic resources. The grandfather assumes ultimate power and serves an integrating function; (b) *the small joint* family is made up of parents who live with their married sons and other unmarried children. In this type of arrangement, married sons may live in the ancestral home with their parents or parents live with married sons or married brothers live together; (c) *the nuclear family* is composed of two generations. This is a growing structural arrangement in urban centers; and (d) the *nuclear family with dependents* consists of parents, their offsprings, and relatives. Although the latter two types of familial arrangements may reflect a shift in structural organization from the large joint family system, family boundaries in most Indian households are flexible and permeable. It can safely be said, then, that for the most part the formative years of Indian childhood are spent within the domains of extended kinship networks (Kakar, 1978).

Within the social structure of the Indian family, men and sons have traditionally been accorded greater importance. Male dominance and the subordination of women are unmistakable characteristics of the hierarchical nature of Indian society (Kakar, 1978). The maintenance of male dominance has been rigidly enforced by caste and religion. Women are confined to domestic chores and caregiving, while men serve as liaisons with the outside world. Women are expected to display the differential *pativrata*, complete loyalty to husbands, and they often relinquish a good deal of control over household affairs to their mother-in-laws. A woman's status may improve when she gives birth, especially when the offspring is a son. Wives of eldest sons may assume complete control over domestic affairs (Ross, 1967).

The patriarchal structure of Hindu society was and still is largely tied to the caste system. There are thousands of castes and tribes in India: they differ in size and possess many defining characteristics that enable the maintenance of rigid boundaries. Caste (*Jati*) defines social relationships, marriage partners, occupational specializations, and various other features of daily life in India. Members of particular castes are expected to participate in the defining social order and fabric of their particular caste (Mandelbaum, 1970; Kakar, 1978). Before the establishment of governmental agencies in India, the *panchayat*, the caste council, reigned supreme over the life course of individuals. Exclusions and expulsions from caste activities were part of the *panchayat*'s role. Although some have suggested that many castes and subcastes have witnessed changes in their degree of power and prestige (Ross, 1967), the fact is that children still are largely socialized within the rigid and demeaning confines of the maligned principles of the caste system.

Inextricably tied to the hierarchical social structure and the rigors of the caste system is the Hindu world view. Indians are deeply entrenched in numerous religious practices, and while these practices vary according to sociocultural subgroups, they form the core of existence in India. Rituals, myths, and religious practices provide the Hindu with a sense of semblance and understanding of his or her own existence, interpersonal relationships, and a basis for fusing ideological belief structures and day-to-day experiences (see Bharati, 1982; Kakar, 1978). Through serious devotion Hindus are able to understand their involvement in the world and their role in it. The search for an understanding of the "self" relative to the "greater self" allows Hindus to move away from ignorance toward a reality of the liberated person (Kakar, 1978).

The concepts of *Dharma* and *Karma* are integral to the Hindu way of life. Simply put, *Dharma* refers to the interdependent and complementary nature of roles and responsibilities. On the other hand, *Karma* directs the cycles of birth and death through which a person regresses or progresses depending on past deeds (Kakar, 1978). These two concepts guide the formation and nature of interpersonal relationships.

Religious epics also allow for the personification of "good" and "evil" and the ideals of "manhood" and "womanhood." Some epics, such as the *Ramayana*, convey messages of familial bonds, loyalty, and fidelity. Reenactments of epics allow Hindus to reassert their cultural identity and simultaneously remind them of the path of life they should follow. Today, the reenactments of religious epics are seen in temples, public places, and on government-owned television throughout the country. If anything, their significance appears central in the effort to retain a strong sense of solidarity among family members.

In sum, then, the structural-social organization of Indian families throughout much of history has remained close to the joint family system. Caste membership and religious practices ensure that certain boundary demarcations remain clear. These ideals guide family socialization practices and role definitions.

INDULGENT MOTHER, DOMINANT FATHER

The Indian mother can be characterized as indulgent. She is the primary caregiver and nurturer. Her role as caregiver is best described in terms of her closeness to young children. From infancy into early childhood, physical ministrations are common. The child sleeps with the mother, is carried on the hip, massaged daily, and is never too far from her; it is "constantly held, cuddled, crooned, and talked to" (Kakar, 1978). Such physical intensity continues way beyond infancy, which, in India, may last as long as four to five years of age. For instance, breast feeding may last as long as three years and occasional sucking continues beyond weaning periods (Kakar, 1978).

The Indian mother follows rather than leads a child's inclinations and course of development. This approach is based on the conception that the child has certain innate capabilities that should be respected (Kakar, 1978). Undoubtedly, these tendencies are deeply rooted in religious beliefs about the developmental life course of individuals. Nevertheless, the Indian mother is noted for her high level of emotional investment with children and children may emerge "from infancy into childhood with a staunch belief that the world is benign and that others can be counted on to act on their behalf" (Kakar, 1978, p. 82). Thus, mothers are viewed as always accessible and in some cases children do assume dominant roles in mother–child relationships.

By contrast, Indian fathers are often feared and are seen as someone who should be kept at some distance. Both Kakar (1978) and Ross (1967) described Indian fathers as dominant and at times stern. In fact, while the mother is often seen as dispelling fear and anxiety, the father can be viewed as instilling fear. This can be attributed in part to his dominant position in Indian society and the control he exercises over his children. Furthermore, his role as chief authority figure largely goes unquestioned.

EMPIRICAL WORK ON PARENT–CHILD RELATIONS IN INDIA

Until quite recently, folklore, myths, and religious doctrines served as primary sources for the description of parent–child relations in India. To a large extent, the repositories of Indian sacred values guided and continue to guide the ways in which families socially and cognitively groom their offspring to function within Indian society. As noted previously, certain epics guide the ego ideals of men and women in marital and familial relationships, and the laws of *Manu* bestow upon men the power to control relationships within the hierarchy of the family. These doctrines have served as launching pads for observational work on early patterns of socialization in India. Today, there is a small but growing body of observational work on parent–child relations in India.

Field work conducted by Indian and Western scholars provide rich descriptions of early childhood ceremonies (name giving, purification, and head shaving), and religious practices during the lying-in period after the birth of the baby (Freed & Freed, 1980; Raz, 1976). Furthermore, much has been written about toilet training, breast feeding, and weaning (Kuppuswamy, 1984).

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Indian psychologists exercised great care in collecting data on the developmental norms of children (see Kahn, 1979; Muralidharan, 1971; Tandon, 1981). In addition, during this period, social service agencies focused quite a bit of attention on malnutrition, general health, and literacy. But the 1980s also witnessed an increased emphasis in the research arena on the social and emotional development of Indian children. As Anandalakshmy (1989) and Sharma (1989) have noted, "the psychological variables in infant development that have eluded focus, as their effect is comparatively less tangible, less immediate and less frequently documented in research" are now gaining increased attention.

Research on infant stimulation programs delineates the value of massage and play. For example, Tur (1980) argues that massage affects circulation, and the resilience and contractibility of the muscles. Others (e.g., Sharma, 1989) suggest that infant massages provide warmth and security to the infant and relaxation to the caregiver. During massages, the caregiver plays, smiles, coos, and sings to the infant. In the long run, it is argued, these activities can only serve to strengthen attachment bonds (Sharma, 1989).

Beyond the early stimulation research, few studies have observed parent–infant interactions. This is not to say that data do not exist on social relations between parents and infants. Minturn and Hitchcock (1966) provide rich descriptions of the birth and basic care of infants among the Rajputs of Kahlapur, and Anandalakshmy (1984) provides an overview of the interview studies of children's social development. These latter studies focus on regulating older children's behaviors.

Three recent studies conducted in Bhutan and New Delhi focused directly on mother–infant and father–infant interactions. In recording infant care in Thimpu, Bhutan, Tsering (1988) reported that among the 21 infants she observed, a majority of the infants (66%) were delivered by their fathers and in some cases children assisted the father during deliveries. It was observed that when the father was available, his role during early caregiving was usually no different from that of the mother. Fathers were as prompt in responding to infant cries as were mothers. The baby was often carried on the mother's back as she proceeded with her household activities. The mother carried on long conversations with the infant while accomplishing household tasks. For the most part, the infant was observed to be very quiet while on the caregiver's back.

In a study of father's involvement in caregiving among middle-income families in New Delhi, Rajagopalan (1989) found that fathers in dual-earner families were more likely to feed, change the baby's diaper, and soothe the baby at night than did fathers in single-earner families. It was assessed, however, that the mother was the primary caregiver in both groups of families. Moreover, dual-earner men's involvement in caregiving decreased when the baby was ill.

Additional work on father involvement in caregiving in infancy was conducted by Roopnarine (Roopnarine, Lu, & Ahmeduzzaman, 1989; Roopnarine, Talukder, Jain, Joshi, & Srivastav, 1990). During semistructured interviews, middle-income New Delhi families were asked about their involvement with babies and their beliefs regarding childrearing. In this group of educated urban middle-income dual-earner families, Indian men maintained considerable distance from caregiving. As a matter of fact, they rarely fed, put the baby to bed, or changed their diaper when compared with mothers. Both mothers and fathers rarely engaged in rough play with infants.

In a separate sample of educated urban families in which the mothers did not work outside of the home, Roopnarine et al. (1990) observed similar patterns of differentiation in parent–infant interactions. Mothers were more likely to pick up and hold infants than were fathers; they were more likely to feed and comfort infants and to invest more time feeding and displaying affection to infants than were fathers. When parents held infants they were more likely to display affection than to feed, comfort, or play with them. Mothers and fathers treated boys and girls quite similarly during interactions. The infants were more likely to smile at, vocalize to, and follow mothers around the house than they did fathers. Infants preferred parents as social partners over relatives.

Not unlike fathers in a majority of other cultures, then, Indian fathers maintained some distance from caregiving roles. Mothers are primary caregivers and infants seem to prefer them over fathers during some social activities. Despite the fact that folk tales bemoan the importance of sons over daughters, and despite the well-known preference for the birth of sons over daughters in India, these preliminary studies point to the equitable treatment of sons and daughters at least during social interactions in infancy.

THE CHANGING INDIAN FAMILY?

India, like other Asian countries, is witnessing major technoeconomic changes in what was, until quite recently, a largely agricultural economy. It is also experiencing large migrations from rural to urban areas. Decades of famine, drought, and flooding have forced people to move to the larger cities to pursue new economic dreams. Apart from the rural Indians who move to the cities, there is a growing number of educated urban dwellers who are assuming a major role in India's progress toward self-sufficiency and modernization. In a good number of cases, these Indians are equipped with Western "taste" and strive toward the economic ideals of Western industrialized societies. At the same time, they maintain strong ties to traditional Indian customs and values. There have been lively debates about whether or not the structural and social organization pattern of Indian families have changed during post-independence India in particular. The post-independence period marks dramatic changes in terms of governmental, political, technoeconomic, and ecological organization.

Regardless of the culture, individuals work out ways of adapting to changes while preparing their children to compete and survive within specific social environments. The competencies that are necessary for successful adaptation would have to be shaped over time through experience and experimentation (Ogbu, 1988). Thus, chances are changes in structural organization of families alone may not have as dramatic an effect on parent–child interactions given the fluid nature of within-caste relationships in India, the value placed on close familial bonds, and strong religious beliefs that emphasize family solidarity.

In Western societies, urbanization and industrialization have transformed traditional family functions to the specialized institutions of the larger society (Ogburn, 1933). Family functions have strong interfaces with varied institutions within society. Basically, the family moved from an institutional family to a companionship family (Burgess, Locke, & Thomas, 1963). In less industrialized societies such as India, economic and other activities are still largely regulated by the family unit. These units tend to have closer social affiliations and bonds, are autocratic, and are guided by traditional values in performing and achieving specific functions. To a great degree, the urban Indian family has maintained some of the characteristics of the institutional family. Whereas its organization is moving toward a companionship family, it is likely that the social structure of Indian society will prevent it from totally becoming a companionship family.

As we have discussed earlier, even in urban areas the Indian family has immediate extensive social networks. For instance, among the Marwardi community, a group of individuals who have lived in large cities across India for generations, the joint family is quite alive despite industrialization, Western education, and technoeconomic changes (Agarwala, 1955). Rural men who work in large cities also maintain strong ties to their families in the villages, often returning for visits and to attend different ceremonial functions (Karve, 1953). Despite these tendencies, India is now directly connected to the Western industrialized world through trade, tourism, and educational exchange programs. The demand for a better standard of living and the simple fact that urbanization emphasizes individuality and privacy may suggest that India's urban families have been changing (see Ross, 1967). To what degree, to what extent, and in what areas urban Indian families are changing is largely unexplored.

THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARENT–CHILD INTERACTIONS IN NEW DELHI

During 1987–88, the first author conducted two studies on parent–infant interaction patterns among two groups of middle-income families in New Delhi. In one group, both spouses worked outside of the home while in the other the husband was the sole economic provider. Both groups of families had elaborate social networks and most lived in small joint family units. The major objective of both studies was to examine early patterns of caregiving and social interactions between parents and infants.

The data presented in this chapter pertain to dual-earner families. Attempts are made to weave in global comparisons with the other study on single-earner families. We examined the following issues:

1. Mother–father differences in early patterns of interactions while holding the infant.
2. Departures from gender-differentiated patterns of interactions noted in our earlier work on single-earner families.
3. The gender-differentiated treatment of boys and girls.
4. The role of extended members in the family unit as socialization agents to infants.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

While women have worked alongside men in India for centuries, a growing number of educated women are joining the ranks of the upwardly mobile professionals in the urban areas. Until quite recently, because of religious and societal prescriptions, women were discouraged from working as professionals in the open job market. While the number of professional women in the job market is not known, the push to pursue careers/jobs is paradoxical to the laws of *Manu* and antithetical to male dominance in general. We intimated in the previous section that structural changes alone would not necessarily result in changes in men's involvement in parenting roles. Thus, we suspect that early parent–infant interaction would follow a traditional pattern with women being the primary caregivers even in dual-earner units. If this is true, the division of labor and role assignments would follow the dichotomization of caregiving responsibilities along the theory outlined by Parsons and Bales (1955) decades ago. Men across the world are still less willing to embrace caregiving roles than women.

Next, our focus on holding is important for several reasons. First, holding is integral to the development of attachment relationships and it also encompasses a wide range of caregiving and social activities. Close physical contact is a hallmark of early parent–child relations in India and is highly valued. If fathers are changing, then, this may be an area that will reflect that change. Moreover, the types of activities that mothers and fathers engage in while holding the infant is also of interest. In the United States, when fathers held their babies it was for the purpose of play; when mothers held their babies it was for the purpose of caregiving and discipline control (Lamb, 1976). The cultural specificity of holding activities should help to lay bare their importance in the early socialization process.

The third area of focus should help us understand the early treatment of boys and girls. Parental treatment of boys and girls has been anything but equal in India. The repositories of Indian sacred values and folk songs highlight the importance of sons. School enrollment favors boys, and girls are seen as an unmitigated expense who often gobble up the family's fortune in dowry (Kakar, 1978; Swaminathan, 1985). It is of great significance to further ascertain whether urban educated families are moving toward a more equitable treatment of sons and daughters, especially in dual-earner family units.

A final objective was to examine the role of extended familial members in the socialization of children when both parents work outside of the home. An examination of the salience of parents versus kinship members within the extended family as social partners suggests that parents were the primary caregivers and infants preferred parents over relatives as social partners (Roopnarine et al., 1990). But in dual-worker families, nonparental figures may assume a more central role in the socialization of young children, given that work demands may prevent working mothers from spending as much time with infants as mothers who stay at home, and given that Indian men still appear reluctant to hold, feed, and clean babies (Roopnarine et al., 1989).

FIELD SITE AND SAMPLE

Before embarking upon a discussion of the data, we need to discuss the families and the immediate context of the study. New Delhi, the capital city of India, is a sprawling metropolis with a mixture of extremely wealthy and extremely poor individuals and a small but growing middle-class group. It is located in North Central India and has a population of about 6.2 million people (Government of India Census, 1981). Because of its economic appeal as a business and governmental center, the city attracts people from every state and territory of India. Four-fifths of the population is Hindu; Muslims constitute the largest minority, followed by smaller numbers of Jain, Christians, and Buddhists. Hindi is the most common language spoken, though most individuals speak some English. Delhi is a modern city with a large civil servant work force.

The families observed were from middle- to upper-middle income backgrounds that lived in small nuclear joint units. Both spouses had at least a bachelor's degree. Mothers and fathers were primarily employed as doctors, civil servants, teachers, legal advocates, and business personnel. The couples were married for an average of 4.79 years. The mean age of the husbands was 32 years, while the mean for mothers was 29 years. All families had adequate shelter and had comfortable lifestyles. The homes/flats were furnished and had an assortment of toys and books for adults and children. There was no evidence of disability in any of the households and all families were healthy at the time of the observations. The infants were within two weeks of their first birthday. There were 16 boys and 18 girls. The families were observed for two 30-minute sessions in their homes during the evenings or on weekends.

FINDINGS

The data presented in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 do not quite confirm the traditional sex-differentiated pattern of interaction. There were no significant differences in how often mothers and fathers picked up babies ($M_M = .97$; $M_F = .62$) and in the amount of time they held babies ($M_M = 1.93$ mins.; $M_F = 1.78$ mins). Similarly, mothers and fathers did not differ in the amount of time they invested in feeding, comforting, or displaying affection to the baby ($ps > .05$). However, mothers were more likely to smile at and to offer objects to infants than were fathers; and infants were more likely to smile at and vocalize to mothers than to fathers ($ps < .05$; see Figure 1.3).

Indian fathers in dual-earner arrangements appear about equally as involved in certain caregiving activities as Indian mothers. This is contrary to the findings obtained on families who are in single-earner arrangements. In those families, caregiving roles were quite differentiated with women emerging as the primary caregivers. Does this mean that urban educated Indian men in dual-earner units are moving away from traditional modes of socialization? Our data do suggest that the sample of men we observed are showing signs of change. We need to question, however, whether these men were partaking in caregiving out of neces-

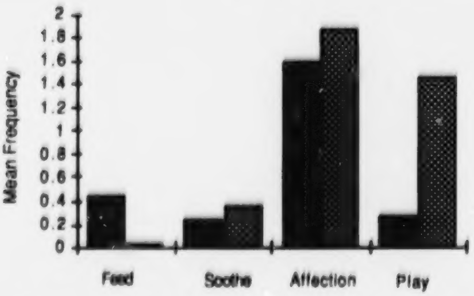

Figure 1.1. **Mean Frequencies of Fathers' and Mothers' Activities While Holding the Baby**

sity. It hardly seems to be the case, since a majority of the families had adequate supplementary child care arrangements and mothers and fathers were observed in the evenings or on weekends when both had equal access to the baby. Besides, fathers in dual-earner families were one-and-a-half times more likely to hold babies and twice as likely to play with babies than were single-earner fathers.

One striking feature about our observation was the fact that mothers and fathers were more likely to display affection than to feed, comfort, or play with babies when they were holding them (*p*s < .05). In previous work (Roopnarine et al., 1990), it was also found that Indian parents display affection as a predominant activity while holding infants. This is not surprising since early parent–infant interactions in Indian families are characterized by a good deal of physical contact. This tendency is contrary to that found among white middle-

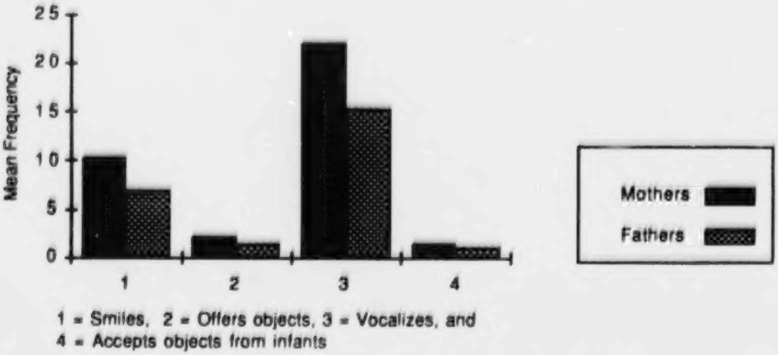

Figure 1.2. **Mean Frequencies of Mothers' and Fathers' Social Behaviors Directed at Infants**

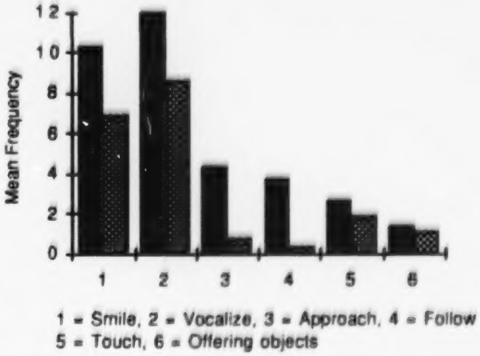

Figure 1.3. Mean Frequencies of Infants' Behaviors Toward Mothers and Fathers

income American families (Lamb, 1976). In those families caregiving and play occupied a good deal of the parents' time when they were observed interacting with their baby.

A surprising tendency in our data was the lack of gender-differentiated treatment of infant sons and daughters. That is, mothers and fathers were more likely to treat boys and girls similarly than differently. Is this tendency indicative of change in the treatment and perceptions of daughters? While our findings are encouraging, we are not certain why there were no gender-of-infant differences given a large body of data documenting the differential treatment of sons and daughters across various cultures. At one level, the findings may reflect an awareness and the need for the equitable treatment of sons and daughters among this group of families. It could also mean that parents treat infant boys and girls

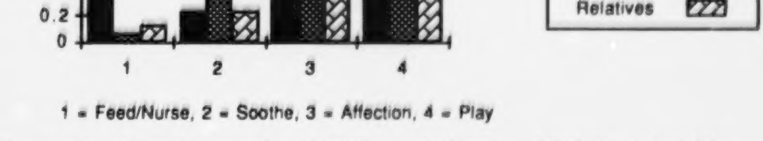

Figure 1.4. Mean Frequencies of Mothers', Fathers', and Relatives' Activities While Holding Infant

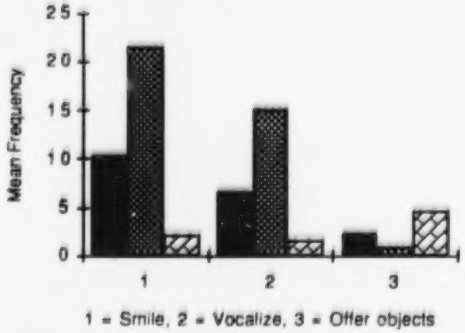

Figure 1.5. **Mean Frequencies of Mothers', Fathers', and Relatives' Social Behaviors Directed at Infants**

in the same manner out of concern for their health and safety due to India's staggering health problems.

The findings on the salience of relatives as socialization agents indicate that in dual-worker Indian families there were few differences between parents and relatives in activities while holding and caring for infants. Nevertheless, mothers and fathers were more likely to smile at and vocalize to infants than relatives (*p*s < .05). Infants, too, preferred their parents as social partners, and as attachment figures when we consider approach and touching as part of the larger group of behaviors that would be indicative of children's attachment relationships (see Figures 1.4 through 1.6). If we compare these findings with those reported for traditional families (e.g., Roopnarine et al., 1990), we find that in dual-worker families relatives may assume a "greater role" in the socialization of children than relatives in traditional families—which could be an artifact of availability.

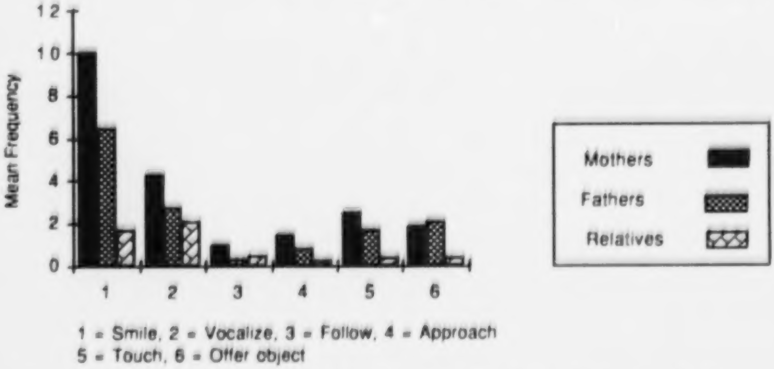

Figure 1.6. **Mean Frequencies of Infants' Behaviors Toward Mothers, Fathers, and Relatives**

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

When discussed in light of the patterns of interactions found among single-earner family units, men and women in dual-earner units appear more similar than different in their interactions with babies. Whereas our findings may indicate that a small portion of Indian men are more willing to embrace certain types of caregiving activities, men in India are still deeply entrenched in patriarchy and still maintain good distance when it comes to the basic care of babies (see Roopnarine et al., 1989). Furthermore, mothers appeared more in tune with their babies' social cues and infants showed a tendency to prefer them over fathers.

Perhaps the urban educated Indian family is in a period of transition. They seem to recognize the need to treat boys and girls similarly during social interactions. Judging from the structural arrangements of these families and their dependency on family members to care for their children when they are at work, we can infer that Indian families are a considerable distance from the companionship family that is so common in the West. Apart from the fact that a small joint family makes economic sense in India, there is the cultural prescription that sons care for elderly parents. In the face of change, there are still strong ego ties of sons to fathers. Throughout history, strong familial bonds have been the cornerstone of family life in India. It is uncanny to visualize the Indian family outside of the joint structural arrangement.

Our analysis of family interaction patterns in New Delhi was not aimed at determining whether the family is moving toward a companionship structural-emotional arrangement, however. We sought to examine how maternal employment influenced the patterns of interactions between fathers and babies. In a limited sense, men are changing in their involvement with babies relative to that observed in a more traditional structure. But, it is often difficult to isolate the single most important factor for this change. There are a host of other factors embedded in urban living and a wide range of sociocultural issues that may be equally as responsible for the changes in men's interaction patterns with babies. Changes in marriage patterns, challenges to filial piety, and affectional relationships in smaller family units can all influence parent–child relations.

From a theoretical standpoint, sociological theories regarding institutional and companionship families may be useful for analyzing western families but appear inadequate in capturing the changes in structural organization and interaction patterns in Indian families. Likewise, the Parsons and Bales (1955) role dichotimization paradigm may not cogently fit into the scheme of parent–child interaction patterns in Indian families. Sociological and psychological interpretations of family life in India, therefore, must entail a thorough analysis of religious and sociocultural values. For, while the structure of some families resembles nuclear families in Western societies, in most regards, these families' functioning and social accessibility are far removed from those of families in the West.

Lastly, the social and religious contexts for childhood socialization in India are markedly different from those in most other cultures. Emphasis is on indulgence, physical contact and tactile stimulation, nonaggressive socialization, and spiritual interpretation of growth and development. It seems highly unlikely that current thinking in developmental psychology will lend itself very well to an interpretation of Indian childhood socialization.

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2

Chinese Families

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Writing a chapter about parent–child interaction in Chinese families is a potentially perilous undertaking. It is difficult to provide a satisfactory characterization of Chinese families both because of the rapid changes that have occurred in Chinese society throughout the 20th century and because Chinese families do not fit into a single mold. Nearly one out of every four inhabitants of this planet is Chinese. Although the population is concentrated in Mainland China, Taiwan, and southeast Asia, Chinese families live under diverse political and economic systems in nearly every part of the world, and even within China, represent many different ethnic groups. It is difficult, too, to differentiate what is distinctly Chinese from what is Asian, for Chinese practices, beliefs, and attitudes have had a strong influence on other Asian cultures for many hundreds of years. To assume uniformity in parent–child relations across so vast and diverse a population is foolhardy, but what we seek to describe in this chapter are some of the commonalities in the domains of family relations that separate the Chinese from other cultures.

We are concerned in this chapter primarily with cities in Mainland China and to some degree with cities in Taiwan. The majority of the Chinese population still resides in rural areas, but there have been few formal studies of Chinese parent–child relations in rural areas. Throughout our discussion we illustrate some of our points by referring to data we have collected in several recent studies (e.g., Stevenson, Lee, et al., 1990; Stevenson, Lummis, et al., 1990). These studies—all with urban families—are indicated in the references. The failure to include rural families is an obvious limitation of our studies, and of most other studies as well. In our studies we have interviewed elementary school students and their mothers in Beijing and Taipei about many aspects of their lives. About 1,400 families, selected as representative samples from each city, have participated in these studies. Whenever we present data without attribution, we are relying on information we collected in these studies.

We begin the chapter by providing an overview of the great changes that have taken place in Chinese family relationships during this century. Because the contemporary situation in Chinese families represents—as it does in all societies—a blend of the traditional and the modern, it is necessary to know something about the beliefs and practices of the past in order to understand the present. Other background factors that are discussed include demographic data about Chinese families and beliefs about socialization and discipline. Children have always occupied an important place in Chinese families, but attitudes about children change greatly from the early to the later years of childhood. We discuss these changes and then describe the central role that schooling holds in the lives of Chinese children. We end the chapter by describing some fundamental beliefs about human behavior that motivate many of the childrearing practices of Chinese parents.

OLD CHINA AND NEW CHINA

People often speak of Old China and New China—the former denoting a traditional culture that existed with remarkable stability through a succession of Imperial dynasties covering a period of more than 2,000 years. A relatively stable set of beliefs, typically based on Confucian precepts, was passed on during this period from one generation to the next with little modification. However, since 1911, when the last Emperor was deposed, Chinese society has undergone a series of profound political, economic, and social changes that have had a strong impact on parent-child relations. Indeed, the political changes of 20th-century China have perhaps had a greater influence on parent–child relations in China than in any other culture.

New China has encompassed three major eras: the Republican era that existed immediately after the establishment of the Republic of China; a Nationalist era, when the country was controlled by the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek; and the Communist era that begin in 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Traditional Chinese values changed less between 1911 and 1949 than they have during the last 40 years. Because of this, and because we seek in this chapter to present a picture of contemporary Chinese parent–child relations, we will focus our attention on the last era. Even so, we must refer to the pattern of parent–child relations that existed in Old China. Without this information, it is hard to appreciate the magnitude of the changes that have occurred and the adjustments that have had to be made in recent times.

Perhaps no event has shaken parent–child relations in China in recent times as much as the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). This revolution shattered many of the traditional beliefs about parent–child relations and placed parents and children in a relationship that had never existed in Old China. Whereas the children's greatest loyalty had always been to the family, the call of Mao Zedong to abandon "feudalistic" parent–child relationships often put children and parents on opposite sides politically. Perhaps equally disruptive was the practice of sending educated youth from the cities to remote areas of countryside where they were to learn from the peasants. Close family loyalties were difficult to maintain when the youths of the family were separated from their parents for long periods of time. Nothing like this had ever occurred on such a large scale, and the effects of this policy will continue for many years. Not only did these experiences influence the parent–child relations of the youths themselves, but they will also influence the manner in which the educated youth of the 1960s respond to their own children.

The Cultural Revolution was not the only source of change in contemporary China. There has been an increasing urbanization of the population—roughly 40 percent now reside in cities (*Fortune*, 1989). This, accompanied by remarkable advances in prosperity throughout Asia, has led to a greater emphasis on individual entrepreneurship, an increasing trend toward a consumer economy, and a general breakdown of the old family system. As a result, this is a period of reassessment and reevaluation. It is a difficult time for families because it is not clear what will be retained from the earlier eras and what aspects of the post-1976 years will remain in force.

ROLE OF THE FAMILY

One dimension on which cultures differ is in their conception of the role of the individual in relation to family and society. In the United States, for example, we place great emphasis on the importance of the individual and on the development of an independent, self-directed, self-motivated child. The situation is very different in China. Raising an independent child is not a major concern; more importance is given to establishing interdependent relations between the child and other members of the family (Yang, 1988). The degree to which this is true has varied among different families and at different times in Chinese history, but it is still the case that the identity of the individual is defined to a great degree by reference to the individual's status within the family.

One way in which the importance of status within the family is reflected is in the matter in which names are assigned. Chinese names begin with the family name, followed by the given name, which typically consists of two syllables. The first syllable of the given name is common to all family members of the individual's generation and gender; the second syllable differentiates the individual from his or her siblings and cousins of the same sex. The geneology of the Chinese family is contained, therefore, in the names given to successive generations within the family. Similarly, there is an elaborate terminology describing relatives; for example, there are separate names for the father's elder brother, the father's second elder brother, the father's younger brother, and so forth. Reference is also made in China to a family member as "big," "little," or "old" in terms of their family status. An individual whose father is alive can still be called *Xiao* Zhang (Little Zhang), for example, even though the individual is adult. Although common, these practices have not been followed uniformly in China. For example, during the Cultural Revolution many children were given names with political significance; children were given such names as Hong (Red) or Weiguo (Defender of the country).

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Current demographic data about the Chinese family are very different from what they would have been in earlier decades of this century. Accompanying the improvements in the economies of Mainland China and Taiwan, there has been a shift from agriculture to manufacturing as a major force in the economy. Another factor—the one-child family policy—has played an even more important role in Mainland China. It became evident several decades ago that the high rate of population growth that occurred during the early years of the People's Republic could not be sustained. It was recognized that the campaigns of the late 1950s and early 1960s to increase the size of Chinese families would ultimately have a devastating effect on the country. A continuation of this rate of growth would halt further economic development as increasing proportions of the gross national product were allocated to the feeding, clothing, and housing of these new citizens.

In the early 1970s, a general family planning policy was adopted. By the end of the 1970s, this became formalized as the one-child family policy. This policy was formally incorporated into the Chinese Constitution and indicated the necessity for family planning. According to the one-child family policy, each couple would be limited to one child except for special situations, such as the birth of a defective first child. The policy has been enforced with varying degrees of severity during the subsequent years. The most stringent applications of the policy have occurred in urban areas, where close surveillance is possible, and has been most lax in rural areas. Not only is supervision of family size more difficult in rural areas, but the economic value of having several children and the belief that more sons means more happiness is much stronger in rural than in urban families. Even with this unprecedented effort to halt the population explosion, however, China's population reached 1.1 billion persons by April 1989, a number double that of less than 40 years ago.

The one-child family policy has had an effect in reducing the rate of growth. In 1975, approximately 33.5 million children entered the first grade of elementary school; by 1980, the number had dropped to 29.4 million. It has continued to drop: there were 23.0 million first graders in 1985 and 21.0 million in 1987 (State Statistical Bureau of People's Republic of China, 1988). In 1989, when 97 percent of all eligible children were enrolled in elementary school, it is estimated that the first-grade cohort was approximately 17,000,000 children. One consequence of these changes is that the number of children with siblings has dropped precipitously. In Beijing in 1986, for example, half of the fifth graders in our study had a sibling; among first graders, only 20 percent had a sibling. The percentage of children with a sibling has continued to decline, so that by 1989, the percentage of first-grade children with a sibling was estimated to be less than 10 percent.

The full impact of the single-child family policy is just beginning to be felt, but it will have profound effects in the coming century. It is unclear what adaptations will be made in a culture where the family has been so important and where now there is often but a single representative of the new generation. How this will affect such factors as the preference for boys, the role of grandparents, and the personality and cognitive development of the only children remains to be seen. What will life be like for children reared with two parents and four grandparents, but who have no siblings and no cousins, and for whom there are no aunts or uncles?

Chinese families tend to remain intact. Both parents resided in the child's home in 99 percent of the Beijing families we visited, and 29 percent of the families had one or more grandparents living with the family.

Two of the greatest changes in the Chinese family are the increasing proportion of mothers who work and the higher level of education of the parents. Women who contribute directly to the family income no longer maintain roles as subordinate members of the family, and the higher average levels of education have led to an increase in the status of women in the family and of men in relation to their fathers. According to the Five City Survey, conducted with over 5,000 families in China's five largest cities, 81 percent of all married women were working, and their wages constituted 48 percent of the family income (Tsui, 1989). Maternal employment is nearly universal. In Beijing, 97 percent of the mothers of elementary school children in our study were employed. Maternal employment is also rising among other Chinese groups—in Taipei, for example, 48 percent of the mothers were employed in 1980, 64 percent in 1984, and 66 percent in 1986. There have been vast changes, too, in the average level of parental education. In 1938, there were only 550,000 high school students throughout China, which represented less than 1 percent of the population (Lang, 1946). High school education has become much more common, especially in urban areas. The average number of years of education in 1986 among our Beijing mothers was 10.2 years, and among fathers, 11.5 years. This increase parallels increases found in other Chinese cities such as Taipei, where there was an increase even in the 1980s: the corresponding averages were 8.7 and 10.9 years in 1980, 10.5 and 12.0 years in 1984, and 10.8 and 12.3 years in 1986. Better educated young people have access to information and possess skills that greatly increase their potential for producing goods and for earning money. This is especially important in countries, such as China, that are in the process of transformation from agricultural production to the production of commodities.

Despite the fact that both parents typically work in Mainland China, the average family income remains quite low. On the basis of the data we collected from over 300 representative Beijing families with school children, the mean family income was $778 per year. Necessary family expenditures, along with purchases of increasingly available consumer goods, require nearly all of the family's income, leaving little opportunity for the typical family to save money for the future.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The stereotype of the Chinese family is that of an extended family in which many generations live together in one setting. According to recent studies, it seems likely that the extended family has always been more an ideal than a typical form of family organization in China. In 1930, only 48.5 percent of the families were extended families; in 1981, it was 39 percent (Tien & Lee, 1988). The most common form of family structure is the nuclear family, with parents and children living together. This was found in 66 percent of the families included in the 1982 Five City Survey (Tsui, 1989). However, a second type of family, the stem family, is gaining in popularity. According to the same survey, 24 percent of the respondents were living in stem families. In the stem family structure, the parents, unmarried children, and one married child with spouse and children reside together. This type of structure has been maintained in part because limited living space in urban areas forces families to live together. Newly married couples often find it impossible to locate separate housing and must move in with one set of parents, typically those of the husband. A second reason for the popularity of this type of structure is the assistance that is offered by the grandparents. Since almost all Chinese mothers are working outside of the home, the presence of grandparents in the home is helpful in child care and housework. [Interestingly, however, in a recent survey also reported by Tsui (1989), 90 percent of Beijing youth wanted to set up financially independent families and to maintain some distance from their parents. Parents have also indicated a reluctance to house their married children (Yang, 1988).]

The role grandparents assume with their grandchildren differs, depending upon the sex of their child and the sex of their grandchild. This is closely related to the patrilinear structure of families in traditional Chinese culture. Their son's children are considered to be their "true" grandchildren, that is, the ones for whose socialization they bear an important responsibility and for whom they assume a role as disciplinarian. Grandparents are especially concerned that their son have a son, for it is through this grandson that the family lineage will be maintained most directly. Grandparents feel no great need to be responsible for the children of their daughter, for their daughter's children are considered the children of their son-in-law. In fact, they are called "outside" grandchildren, with whom it is permissible to establish a more playful relationship than with the "true" grandchildren. In neither situation, however, do grandparents appear to play a dominant role in childrearing. They may be a source of help, nurturance, and affection for the grandchildren, and they may influence the parents' attitudes, but childrearing still typically remains in the hands of the parents (Olsen, 1976). Adherence to these traditional practices varies among families, of course, and they surely must differ between pairs of grandparents with only one grandchild among them and grandparents whose grandchildren were born before the one-child family policy was in full force.

BELIEFS ABOUT SOCIALIZATION

Socialization practices of the Chinese families have been strongly affected by two historical factors, poverty and the lack of formal religion. The interdependency of individuals in Chinese society, the constant striving towards tranquility and smooth interpersonal relations, and the strong tendency towards prosocial behavior appear to have their roots in these factors.

The long-term poverty that has existed in China has had a profound influence on interpersonal relations. Chinese families have typically been forced to struggle for survival. In an economy with limited resources, sharing and helping become important, and survival is often dependent upon the ability of members of the group to cooperate (McDonald, 1988). Under such conditions, children must be socialized to behave harmoniously and to evidence strong prosocial behavior. Aggressive behavior in children is not condoned and strong efforts are exerted to avoid fights among children. When the individuals reach adulthood they must know how to obtain the cooperation of other members of the family or of neighbors for tilling the fields or repairing a house. In a poor society, the only reward that can be offered is the potentiality of reciprocating in the future. Chinese personal relationships are characterized by such obligations to reciprocate, and an index of successful socialization into Chinese society is the ability of the individual to engender these kinds of responses from others.

The primary agent in most societies for children's moral education is organized religion. This has never been the case in Chinese society. Formal religion seldom impinges upon the lives of Chinese children. This is the case in Mainland China, where the Communist government has sought to deemphasize religion, and it is also the case in Taiwan, where government leaders have been more sympathetic. In our study, for example, only 3 percent of the children in Taipei attended any type of formal religious classes.

Moral education thus depends upon parents and teachers, whose practices are guided by many Chinese definitions of what characterizes a moral person. One of the best known are the four goals of Li, Yi, Lian, and Chi—meaning, respectively, propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility, and sense of shame. The importance of benevolence and propriety are among the most common themes in the discussion of civilized or moral behavior. To foster such behavior, it is proposed in many Chinese writings that society must be organized to promote unity and harmony.

In Mainland China, discussions of the goals of education typically begin with a definition of education as the fostering of moral, intellectual, and physical development of children. Moral development is always the first of these goals, and in all Chinese schools, the importance of self-denial, cooperation, working for the benefit of the group, and serving society are themes that often appear in stories, songs, and plays. For example, in Ridley, Godwin, and Doolin's (1971) analyses of the content of elementary school readers used in Chinese schools, 57 percent of the major themes dealing with children's behavior included such prosocial activities as altruism, collectivism, and social responsibility. In contrast, only 15 percent of the themes were related to academic achievement and love of study. Every child in China knows the story of Lei Feng, the model young soldier who evidenced the qualities of loyalty, service, and righteousness through all types of adversity until his early death in 1962. The motto, "Serve the people," was frequently quoted by Lei Feng and it remains one that the moral Chinese citizen is urged to adopt as a guide to action.

PARENT–CHILD RELATIONS

Filial piety was perhaps the major goal that guided the socialization of children in the traditional Chinese family (Ho, 1981). Children, even as grown adults, were expected to be obedient and subservient to their parents, especially to their father. A child was viewed as the property of his or her parents, whose life course, including education, marriage, daily life, and occupation were to be controlled or at least strongly guided by the parents' wishes. The right of a parent to punish a wayward child severely was derived from the belief that the child was a possession of the parents.

Although the patriarchal relationship no longer exists, many of the principles still hold to a lesser degree. Interdependent and reciprocal relations are found among members of the Chinese family. Parents provide care for children with the expectation that later in their lives the children will care for them. This actually appears as an article in the Marriage Law of China: "Parents have the duty to rear and to educate their children; the children have the duty to support and assist their parents" (Hinton, 1986, p. 553). The article continues by describing

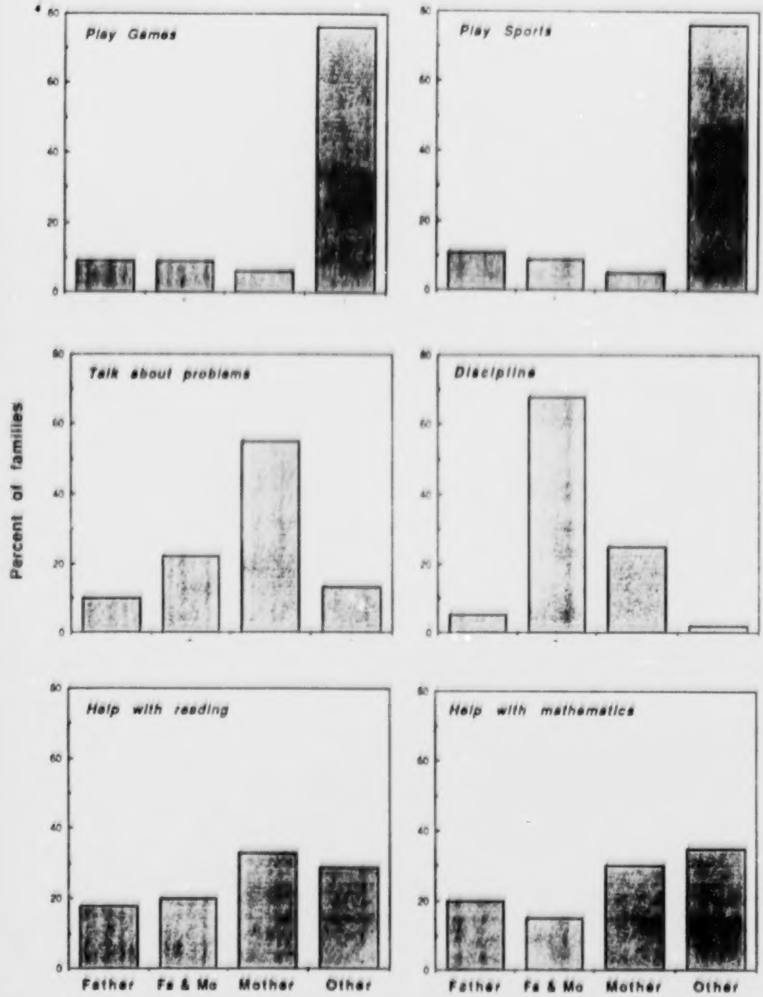

Figure 2.1. Participation of family members in various activities with children

the obligations for support and assistance of parents toward their children and of grown children toward their parents.

Despite the tradition of filial piety, there has been a growing tendency in China for many young people to reject what they see as their parents' old-fashioned concepts of authority and discipline. They talk about "democracy in family life" and "cultivating an independent personality" (Li, 1989). It seems doubtful that interdependence within the family will continue in the same manner as it has in the past. In fact, a tendency is often found for the relations to be reversed; that is, parents, with salaries or pensions higher than the salaries of their children, may have greater resources at their disposal than do young persons. As a result, a young married couple may seek continued financial assistance from their parents in order to maintain the standard of living that they desire.

Fathers and mothers of elementary school children have nonplayful relations with their children. This is evident in data from Taiwan, which are represented in Figure 2.1. Mothers were asked who played games and sports with their children. It was seldom one of the parents. The "other persons" most frequently referred to were the child's siblings. The role of parents is in discipline, discussing daily problems, and providing an environment that is conducive to academic achievement. In contrast, the whole family is strongly involved in the child's academic achievement, and responsibility for giving assistance to the child in schoolwork is broadly distributed among parents and older siblings.

CHILDHOOD: THE AGES OF INNOCENCE AND OF REASON

In the Chinese conception of childhood, there are two early periods, those of not understanding (*budongshi*) and of understanding (*dongshi*). Others have described these as periods of innocence and of reason (Ho, 1981; Lang, 1946; Wolf, 1978). The age of innocence—usually considered to encompass the child's first six years—is a time when children are believed to lack cognitive competence. As a result, it is believed that there is little utility in attempting to get the child to develop certain kinds of behavior, concepts, or morality before the age of reason begins. The age of innocence is therefore a time of indulgence by adults and a period of great freedom, a time when many types of behavior that will not be condoned in the future now meet with acceptance.

Childrearing practices during the age of innocence are clearly very different from those found in Western families. For example, the Chinese families feel less need to read to their young child, to take the child on excursions or outings, or to expect the child to learn much other than social skills in nursery school or kindergarten. For example, only 18 percent of Chinese mothers, but 76 percent of American mothers, reported reading to their preschool child daily or several times a week. Similarly, only 26 percent of the Beijing parents, but 61 percent of the American parents, took their child on an outing the week before our interview with them. All training is not delayed, however, and mothers make efforts to teach their child to write their names, count, and read some Chinese characters before they enter school. Their expectations of what can be accomplished, however, are lower than those of Western mothers.

These beliefs and practices are in strong contrast with Western beliefs about the role of early experience and about the long-term negative effects of a lack of early cognitive stimulation. Perhaps this period of indulgence, freedom, and warm support provides a secure base from which children can move more confidently into the more demanding age of reason.

The age of innocence ends quite abruptly when the child enters school. The changes in the family's behavior must seem very hard for the child to understand. What were nurturant and permissive parents are rather abruptly transformed into authorities who demand obedience, respect, and adherence to their rules and goals. Now the child is expected to give full attention to academic achievement.

When children reach school age, their primary duty is considered to be that of doing well in school, and the family mobilizes itself to provide the resources and assistance that will be necessary to assure that this occurs. They provide children with direct and indirect forms of help that will assist them in their studies, such as allocating space for studying, buying workbooks, excusing them from chores, encouraging them, and helping them directly with their school work. In turn, the children are expected to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their academic pursuits. Play and other leisure activities must be subordinated to studying and the freedom and indulgence that were permitted earlier are no longer tolerated.

As recently noted by Ho (1981), Chinese parents have little concern about possible influences of parent–child interaction on personality development. This is an aspect of children's lives that has received little attention from Chinese writers. Rather, the focus is consistently on moral development. Parents are deemed to be successful if their child has a high moral character as reflected in proper conduct, good manners, humility, and respectfulness, and little thought has been given to other aspects of psychosocial development. This stance may be changing, however. Discussions about children with parents and educators in China inevitably include the topic of creativity, a characteristic that they believe they are not fostering sufficiently in Chinese children. In addition, topics such as juvenile delinquency are more and more often leading to questions about possible influences on personality development, as well as on morality.

DISCIPLINE

To ensure that the child will perform properly, parents change their form of discipline between the two major periods of childhood. During the age of innocence, parents may attempt to explain to children what was wrong with their actions, but, assuming that young children's ability to understand such explanations is limited, parents often rely on more direct forms of discipline and threaten punishment or actually use physical punishment. Physical punishment is less frequently used with school-aged children. Contrary to the popular belief that there is widespread use of shame in the Chinese culture, the parents and the children we interviewed did not confirm this observation. When we asked what the parents would do if the child gets a poor grade or misbehaves, neither mothers nor children suggested that the parents would use shaming techniques. Perhaps shame is used more frequently in public settings such as the classroom, rather than in the family and by agents other than family members. It appears to be much more likely in China than in the West that discipline will be carried out in public, thereby relying on the social group to enhance the effectiveness of both punishments and rewards. The publicly held criticism and self-criticism campaigns that have been conducted during recent years in China reflect the importance attributed to group disclosure as a means of behavioral control.

Chinese parents seldom demonstrate affection to older children, and are reluctant to praise them directly when they are pleased with their behavior. In accord with the emphasis on group processes, they are not reluctant to praise older children publicly in front of the family or friends. This praise is not without qualification, however, for it is likely to be followed by suggestions that opportunities still exist for improving behavior or attaining higher levels of achievement.

Chinese parents are not reluctant, however, to reward their children for doing well in school. When children are still in kindergarten, parents give them tangible rewards, such as a present or money, or treat them to a special event if they are behaving properly and learning well. When the children are in elementary school, the parents most often rely on verbal praise and encouragement, although they also may treat them to a special event or give them a gift.

What are the major causes for discipline? The instigations are similar to those for all families of young children: negative social behaviors such as rudeness or failing to be polite, disobedience, hitting another person, and negative personal habits and manners. Both parents typically participate in disciplining the child; 68 percent of the mothers we interviewed in Taipei said both she and her husband were responsible for discipline. Seldom did just one of the parents assume responsibility for discipline; they reported that this was the case with only a quarter of the mothers and 5 percent of the fathers. The older description of the father as an austere, remote disciplinarian does not fit the families we have studied, nor of families in other recent studies (see Ho, 1989). Rather than believing that they should not continue to maintain a close, nurturant role with their children, especially their sons, past their early years, contemporary fathers appear to be deeply involved in their children's development.

SCHOOLING

The central task in the lives of all Chinese children is to make satisfactory progress in school. All other activities are subordinated to this goal, and the resources and time of the family, as well as of the child, are mobilized in this effort. Success in school is prized, not only because of its obvious relation to economic advancement of the individual, but also because of the high value placed in Chinese society upon learning. Traditionally, the scholar has been venerated in China and a high value has been placed upon knowledge and learning. In Old China, the intellectual had greater prestige and fame than the individual who was successful in gaining personal wealth through commerce.

For almost 13 centuries prior to 1905, civil service examinations were used to determine who could assume a role in assisting in the governance of China. Education, not family line, led to success in these examinations. Although civil service examinations have been abandoned, examinations still play an important role in the lives of Chinese youth. Decisions about who will be allowed to continue their education in high school and college, as well as about the quality of the school to which they will be admitted, are made on the basis of national examinations.

It is evident to parents and children that upward mobility in China still depends on education, and the goal of both parents and children is for the children to be able to enter a college or university. In Beijing, more than 90 percent of the mothers expected that their child would have postsecondary education. Even in the Chinese countryside, 66 percent of the peasants, according to a recent government survey (*People's Daily*, 1988), wanted their children to go to college. These hopes or expectations greatly exceed the likelihood that the student actually will enter some form of postsecondary education. In fact, out of every 100,000 persons in China, there are only 190 university students (*Fortune*, 1989).

The high expectations held by parents and transmitted to their children are accompanied by high demands for academic achievement. The Chinese parent, it is often said, is never satisfied with the child's progress in school. There is always room for improvement, and even if the child attains the highest possible score, there is always the worry that this level of performance will not be sustained. We asked Beijing parents to predict how well their child would do on hypothetical tests in reading and mathematics, each with an average score of 70 and a maximum score of 100. Beijing mothers predicted that their child would obtain a mean score of 86. However, these positive evaluations of their child's potentiality did not mean that the mothers would be satisfied. When they were then asked what score they would be satisfied with, they responded with a score that averaged 9 points higher than the one they thought their child would be able to obtain. Fathers responded in a similar fashion; they predicted their child would get an average score of 85, but they would be satisfied with a score of 87—a score lower than that desired by the mothers.

In an effort to meet these demands for academic achievement, Chinese children spend a large amount of time after school on activities related to school. Beijing first-, third-, and fifth-graders spent averages of 7.4, 7.4, and 8.1 hours per week, respectively, doing homework. These Chinese children also spend large amounts of time reading for pleasure: an average of over five hours per week. As a result of the large proportion of the children's time spent in school and on academic activities outside of school, there is less time available for play and recreational activities, such as watching television. As children progress from elementary school through high school, an even greater proportion of the students' time is devoted to academic achievement.

A good example of the devotion of parents and children to academic work can be seen in their attitudes about household chores. Chinese parents are willing to excuse their children from chores on the grounds that chores would detract from the time they would have available for study. Chinese children do few chores. For example, only 6 percent of the elementary school children in Taipei were assigned chores. Why, we asked Taipei mothers, did their child not do chores? "It would break my heart," one mother replied, because chores would mean the child has less time for study.

Responsibility for the education of children is not relegated to the school. The child's family is also assumed to bear this responsibility. The dedication of Chinese parents to their child's education is symbolized in an ancient story that is still retold: the mother of Mencius, an early Confucian philosopher, insisted on moving three times to different neighborhoods to find one that would be most favorable for her child to concentrate on studying.

Modern Chinese parents devote a lot of time helping their children with their studies. Mothers in Beijing and Taipei reported that they spent an average of about five hours a week helping their child with schoolwork. As children progress to higher grades, the amount of time decreases, probably because parents are less able to help with increasingly difficult subject matter and children have acquired the self-discipline necessary for studying by themselves. Despite these changes and the mothers' lack of specific knowledge of the content of their child's schoolwork, there is no decline in the ardor with which they support their child's academic achievement.

Parents make many other types of effort to facilitate their child's intellectual development. A recent nationwide survey in China revealed that more than 90 percent of Chinese families buy books for their children (*People's Daily*, 1987). As a consequence, Chinese children own a large number of books. Our data showed that 28 percent of elementary school children in Beijing owned more than 100 books and 62 percent owned between 20 and 100 books. Even considering the small size and inexpensiveness of children's books in China, these are large numbers. In addition, families are willing to devote space in their small living quarters to the child for studying, and are eager to purchase such items as bookstands and workbooks in the hope that they will facilitate studying.

BELIEF IN EFFORT

It would be impossible to maintain such an intense dedication to fostering academic achievement unless parents, teachers, and children truly believed that their efforts would be rewarded. Such a belief is widely held and is based on the assumption that human behavior is highly malleable. Chinese—and much of Asian—philosophy is derived from Confucian ideas about the role of experience in human development. The orientation is strongly on the side of nurture in the nature-nurture argument. A fundamental belief is that all human beings are alike when they are born; differences arise from their particular experiences. Individual differences are not denied, but in the end, what is believed to set humans apart from each other are not their innate strengths and propensities, but how the individual is nurtured. Because human behavior is believed to be so malleable, individuals have the opportunity through hard work to advance themselves, both mentally and morally. Righteousness as well as high achievement is attainable if children are willing to devote the effort necessary to make the appropriate changes. "If there is no dull and determined effort," wrote Hsun Tzu long ago, "there will be no brilliant achievement." This aphorism is illustrated by reference to mountains that can be moved with continuous effort, long journeys that begin with the first few steps, and tiny streams that create the possibility of rivers and seas (Watson, 1967).

Chinese children have incorporated this philosophy. We asked Beijing fifth-graders to rate the importance of effort and ability in determining their school performance. Each rating was made on a 5-point scale, ranging from "of little importance" to "of great importance." The ratings reflected a strong emphasis on effort; the average difference between the ratings made for effort and for ability was 2.3. American children, in contrast, were more likely to give effort and ability equal emphasis; the average difference was less than 0.5.

As a result of the Chinese beliefs about the importance of effort, parents believe that their children are capable of high accomplishments if they work hard enough, children believe that great effort will be rewarded, and teachers believe that it is appropriate to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the instruction of their students.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though there has been continuity in Chinese beliefs about the ideal outcomes of childrearing, parent–child relations have changed greatly. There is an inevitable mixture of the old and the new, but changes that were initiated during the early years of this century have been maintained. There is greater egalitarianism within the Chinese family, the role of females has improved, the importance of reciprocal relations has declined, and individualism often supercedes group effort. These developments can be traced to many factors, including more widespread access to education, a transition from an agricultural to a commodity-producing economy, a generally improved economy, greater urbanization, and more openness to the outside world. The one-child family policy of Mainland China, perhaps the boldest effort at population control ever undertaken, will have potentially profound effects on family relations and on the personal-social and cognitive development of children. Further changes in these social and economic conditions will result in even greater demands on the Chinese family to abandon traditional practices and initiate ones that are adaptive to the new situations.

Further improvement in the economy will mean that both parents and their adult children will have sufficient savings so that the mutual dependence that has characterized Chinese families for centuries will no longer be necessary. Similarly, it seems likely that group orientation will yield increasingly to entrepreneurship with its accompanying stress on the role of the individual.

In the mid-1980s the Chinese government began a campaign to urge citizens to adopt the goals of the Five Stresses and the Four Points of Beauty (Song, 1985). The Five Stresses suggested an emphasis on decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline, and morals. The Four Points of Beauty were beautification of mind, language, behavior, and environment. These mottos differ little from Confucian precepts that have defined the good citizen for generations. One wonders whether the mottos of the future will depart greatly from those of the present.

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3

A Comparison of the Parent–Child Relationship in Japan and the United States*

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Important developmental issues can be illuminated by comparing childrearing in Japan and the United States because the two nations have similar social structures but very different conventions for interaction. Socially, Japan and the United States are both economically developed and technologically sophisticated. The educational systems of both nations must cope with rapid social change by preparing children for an ever-expanding array of roles and responsibilities. However, norms of interpersonal communication and parent–child interaction differ greatly between Japan and the United States (Azuma, 1986; Hakuta, 1986).

To illuminate differences between parent–child relationships in Japan and the United States, our review considers the following factors: (a) childrearing beliefs in their historic context, (b) the home environment, (c) newborn behavior, (d) mother–infant interaction and maternal speech to infants, and (e) mother–preschooler interaction. While these factors are presented separately, we attempt to describe some of the complex interactions among them with the goal of illustrating development in its cultural contexts.

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CHILDREARING BELIEFS

Beliefs about childrearing and education in Japan and the United States influence actual parent–child interaction. Many national beliefs about childrearing have their origins in the earlier social orders of Edo Japan and Colonial America. The review in Table 3.1 summarizes these historical beliefs with information from Grubb and Lazerson (1982), Hendry (1986), Kojima (1986), Pollack (1983), and Stevenson, Azuma, and Hakuta (1986).

Codes regulating interaction in Japan—including parent–child interaction—originated in ancient Chinese Confucianism. Confucian ethics emphasized the individual's connectedness with the natural world and with other people. In Confucianism personal fulfillment could only be attained by establishing harmonious relationships with the physical and social environment. The Japanese worldview—based on Confucianism—emphasizes interdependence.

By contrast, the Greek and Judeo-Christian traditions that form a basis for ethics in the United States emphasized self-knowledge and personal responsibility. Personal fulfillment and self-reliance were seen as prerequisites for contributing to the common good. Based on these ideas, the United States worldview emphasizes the autonomous individual.

These different belief systems form the foundation for very different childrearing practices and beliefs in Japan and the United States (Doi, 1973; Hara & Wagatsuma, 1974; Kojima, 1986; Lebra, 1976; White & Levine, 1986). Japanese parents view infants as initially unconnected to and unaware of their surrounding families. Japanese parents attempt to integrate them into mutually dependent social relationships (Yamada, 1987; Bornstein, 1989; Caudill, 1973). The Japanese mother devotes herself to satisfying the infant's basic needs in order to "convince" the infant to rely on her (Doi, 1973).

American families, on the other hand, see their infants as initially dependent and attempt to promote eventual self-sufficiency. The American mother sees her role as gradually weaning her infant away from initial dependency into autonomy and independence.

Japanese childrearing practices have historically allowed infants relatively free expression of their initial tendencies and desires. For example, Shinto beliefs in Japan suggest that children are from the gods, and that they should be treated with leniency lest they decide to return to the gods. Japanese parents are more accepting of their babies' dispositions and, for example, do not attempt to alter infant's individual predilections towards quietness, fussiness, or activity.

The Christian ascription of original sin to children historically legitimized the need for training and control. Parents in the United States are more likely to exert social controls to "optimize" infant performance (Brazelton, Koslowski, & Main, 1974). For example, concern is expressed if an American baby is too quiet or too active. Conformity to social expectations appears to have been the rule for American infants with the family as the primary socializer.

Table 3.1. Summary of Childbearing Beliefs in Edo Japan and Early America

Japan		
Infancy	1.	Children are inherently good. They have innate tendencies that cannot and should not be reshaped by adult control.
	2.	Harmonious relations should prevail between parent and infant. Parents should not deny the infant's basic needs.
	3.	The parents should train the child only when ready. Premature training yields few positive results.
	4.	Mothers should be totally committed to their roles, even at the expense of other roles such as wife, friend, or employee.
Early Childhood	1.	Training in social and moral behavior should come only after a due period of infant development.
	2.	The responsibility for such training is shared by the community and society, not only the parents.
	3.	Training is based on following models, rather than analysis or questioning.
	4.	Adults rarely punish or praise, but rather allow child to self-regulate performance out of desire to conform.
United States		
Infancy	1.	Children are seen as inherently primitive, needing to be socialized at an early age.
	2.	Children and parents should learn to obey expected norms of behavior regardless of the impact on the emotional ties between them.
	3.	Self-care and emotional independence should be accomplished as early as possible, even if the child protests.
	4.	Women are expected to balance motherhood against other roles, including those of wife, friend, employee.
Early Childhood	1.	Children are clearly in need of continuing discipline and guidance.
	2.	Children can and should be trained to do a variety of useful tasks and chores, even at an early age.
	3.	Basic social and moral training is seen as a responsibility of the family (*parens patrie*).
	4.	Shaping the child's actions is accomplished through adult control largely in the form of reinforcement and punishment.

Methods of child discipline provide insight into childrearing. In the context of an accepting indulgence, Japanese toddlers are encouraged to be sensitive and responsive to the needs of others (Clancy, 1986) and to conform to social expectations. The Japanese mother tends to avoid confrontation and does not resort to her authority (Rohlen, 1989). The ideal is "that the child has internalized a desire to please the mother and this desire will result in compliance" (Conroy, Hess, Azuma, & Kashiwagi, 1980, p. 169). In extreme cases, however, Japanese children are disciplined with the threat of withdrawal of parental love (Azuma, 1986). Mothers train their children "not to stand out" (Grossman, 1989). In return for the sacrifices that are made for the sake of conformity to the standards of the family or the group, Yamada (1987) suggests the Japanese child (or adult) is offered a secure and protected life-space. So strong is the desire to belong to the family or inside group (*uchi*) that children are disciplined by being threatened with being removed from the house or by actually being placed outside (*soto*) (Yamada, 1987).

American families offer infants more overt guidance but are more ambivalent about their controlling role. Children are taught to take care of themselves and to stick up for what they want. Even very young American children are asked—not told—to do this or that. But children are also expected to obey. The dual emphasis on independence and on subordination for American children is often a source of family conflict. For example, American but not Japanese families experience toddlerhood as the "terrible twos."

THE HOME ENVIRONMENT

The home is the main context in which childrearing beliefs become childrearing practices. A study by one of us (M. Stevenson) was designed to address one aspect of the cultural context of childrearing: parental participation in non-childcare tasks. Interviews were conducted in Japan in the homes of 20 mothers with first-born infants. Ten mothers had 4-month-old infants and ten had 12-month-old infants. This information was compared to information obtained from interviews with 20 mothers in the United States with first-born infants of similar ages. All infants lived in two-parent households and the Japanese and American families were matched on the educational levels of the fathers.

Most housekeeping tasks were performed significantly more often by Japanese mothers than by American mothers (see Table 3.2). Within the home, the American mother had more and better labor-saving devices available. The Japanese clothes washer, for example, is considerably smaller than the American one and not all washers are automatic, necessitating twice as many loads of wash. Japanese homes also rarely had a clothes dryer. Consequently, Japanese mothers washed clothes and hung them to dry daily; American mothers washed clothes an average of twice a week. Another labor-saving device conspicuously absent from Japanese homes was the dishwasher. Because of the lack of a dishwasher and because of very small kitchen areas, Japanese mothers uniformly washed dishes at least three times a day; American mothers did so an average of about once a day.

Japanese fathers performed very few household tasks. Specifically, American men performed 26 percent of all household tasks, Japanese men 3 percent. American men, for example, participated significantly more often in the household tasks of dish washing and meal preparation. This overall difference is quite

Table 3.2. Household Tasks: Frequency Per Month

	4-Month-Old Infants		12-Month-Old Infants	
	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan
Performed by mother				
preparing meals	51.0	90.0***	73.3	90.0
washing dishes	31.4	90.0***	41.2	99.0***
doing laundry	9.4	30.0***	10.0	30.0***
cleaning floors	10.4	26.2	7.6	25.0**
grocery shopping	8.6	15.8	9.8	26.8**
Performed by father				
preparing meals	14.4	.3**	16.4	.8**
washing dishes	8.5	.9*	9.1	.7*
doing laundry	1.3	.2	2.1	.4
cleaning floors	1.0	3.3	1.0	1.3
grocery shopping	2.5	3.6	5.1	3.2

t-test results:
*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

likely related to the Japanese father's working hours. On the average, Japanese fathers left home before 8:00 a.m. and returned after 8:30 p.m. These findings are consistent with reports that the Japanese father is often distant from his family (Shwalb, Imaizumi, & Nakazawa, 1987; Solomon, 1986).

In summary, the Japanese mothers performed household tasks more often than American mothers. Of the total household tasks, Japanese fathers performed a smaller proportion than did American fathers, leaving a higher proportion of household tasks to Japanese mothers. However, the demands of paid employment also drain the mother's time and energy. While none of the Japanese mothers were employed, 65 percent of the American mothers were employed at least part-time.

Similar patterns emerge when parental participation in childcare tasks is examined (Stevenson, 1990). Maternal care is more exclusive in Japan: Japanese mothers of 4-month-old infants performed an average of 93 percent of the caregiving tasks. U.S. mothers performed an average of 77 percent of the caregiving. Mothers in the United States received the assistance of fathers and substitute caregivers with the tasks of feeding, diapering, putting the infant to sleep, and getting up in the night with the infant. Because of their commitment to the maternal role, and perhaps to strengthen the mutual bond, Japanese mothers served as nearly constant caregivers for their young infants.

While we cannot reconstruct the entire domestic context of childrearing from these data, some trends appear clear. The American division of marital labor appears more equitable. In the United States, wives do more work out of the home and husbands do more work in the home. While Japanese mothers spend more time at home with their infants, they also have more extensive non-childcare work demands within the home. These work demands have the potential to impact on the time and energy the mother has available for care of her infant. Yet Japanese mothers place a higher value on their role as mothers than on other roles. Moreover, in comparison with the United States, Japanese generally live in homes with fewer and smaller rooms, thus keeping mother and baby in closer proximity. It may be that Japanese infant care is more integrated with other household tasks than in America.

These data suggest some of the differing environmental constraints on mother-infant interaction in Japan and the United States. We now turn to an examination of differences that infants themselves bring to the interaction.

NEWBORN BEHAVIOR

It has been hypothesized that differences in the behavior of Japanese and American children and differences in their interactions with their parents may derive from differences in the populations at birth. Cross-cultural studies in other societies have found differences between cultures on specific items of the Brazelton Neonatal Behavior Assessment Scale. For example, the Kipsigis in East Africa show lower scores on defensive reaction to a cloth placed over the face than infants from other ethnic groups living in the same region (deVries & Super, 1978), and Navajo infants have been found to be more excitable, to be quicker to self-calm, and to have lower motor tone than Caucasian infants.

However, there is considerable evidence that the behavioral differences are the result of differences in the physical and social context of pregnancy and childbirth, in the lability of newborn behavior, in the reliability drift of observers in the field, and in the social and physical conditions in which the test is administered (Chisholm, 1981; deVries & Super, 1978; Lester & Brazelton, 1982). For example, the weak defensive reaction of the Kipsigis infants seems to be due to the cultural practice of covering the newborn's face with a cloth during the day for privacy, quiet, and cleanliness. Even by the time of testing, these infants had habituated to a cloth on the face.

Bornstein (1989) recently reviewed the evidence about possible differences in the activity levels and motor maturity of infants in Japan and the United States. Of the 10 studies that he reviewed, five found more activity or more motor development in their American sample, and five found higher levels in their Japanese sample. Not only is this literature inconclusive about the existence of differences, it does not allow us to determine if possible differences are congenital or cultural. An attempt to determine the role of culture in early behavioral differences compared fourth generation Japanese-American infants with Caucasian-American infants (Caudill & Frost, 1973). Infants who were genetically Japanese, but who were raised by thoroughly acculturated mothers did not differ from Caucasian-American infants. In summary, research does not point to consistent early differences in the Japanese and American infants, and where there are differences, they seem to be due to environmental rather than congenital factors.

MOTHER–INFANT INTERACTION

How do historically rooted beliefs about child care and the home environment affect actual mother–infant interaction? Child care beliefs are thought to provide ideals that motivate and guide actual interaction as well as to establish a "common sense" frame of reference of appropriate child care practices. More general environmental influences such as the predominant role of the Japanese mother in the home also shape national differences in the parent–child relationship. It should also be noted that the mother–infant interaction provides feedback to the mother that probably influences beliefs about child care.

This section reports on the few well-controlled cross-cultural comparisons of the early mother–infant interaction between Japan and the United States. In a research project done between 1961 and 1964, Caudill and his colleagues (Caudill & Weinstein, 1969) made naturalistic observations of 30 4-month-old infants and mothers in their homes. The amount of face-to-face play was recorded in relation to the time spent in sleeping, eating, and caregiving activities, but the details of the face-to-face interaction were not noted. American infants were found to engage in greater amounts of gross body activity, play with objects, and happy vocalizations. In comparison, the Japanese infants were more passive and cried more. American mothers did more looking at, repositioning, and talking to their infants while the Japanese mothers rocked, carried, lulled, and slept with their infants more.

Subsequent investigators have suggested that Caudill and Weinstein's findings may be explained by the differences in size and layout of the home in Japan vs. the United States, rather than on the basis of differences in childrearing beliefs and practices (Chen & Miyake, 1986). Thus there may be more need to calm the baby in the more confined environment of the Japanese household.

However, when Otaki and colleagues (Otaki, Durrett, Richards, Nyquist, & Pennebaker, 1986) attempted to replicate Caudill and Weinstein's 1969 study, their results were different. They found no difference in the frequency of lulling or holding or rocking of infants in the two cultures. The authors suggest that the two cultures may have converged over time, partly due to the exposure of Japanese mothers to American childrearing ideas.

In another replication of Caudill and Weinstein, Shand and Kosawa (1985b) filmed 49 Japanese and 93 Caucasian American infants and mothers in their homes. A hierarchical cluster analysis of summary frequency measures identified individual types of infants and mothers. In one predominant type, infants "specialized" in a single behavior. A baby of this type might cry, engage in motor activity, sleeping, or hand-to-mouth behavior to the relative exclusion of other actions. These infants had mothers who spent more time holding and touching them. Japanese infants were significantly overrepresented in this cluster. Another cluster was characterized by "multimodal" behavioral styles. These infants engaged in a wide variety of different behaviors during the observation period, while their mothers spent more time repositioning, talking, and being facially expressive. U.S. infants were overrepresented in the multimodal types. These findings seem to support the tendency for Japanese mothers to accept their infants' initial proclivities while American mothers tend to stress early "competence" in a variety of socially desirable areas.

Shand and Kosawa also found that Japanese 3-month-olds also engaged in more spontaneous motor activity than American 3-month-olds. However, like Caudill and Weinstein, Shand and Kosawa found that American infants engaged in more manual exploration of their bodies, toys, and other objects than did Japanese infants. They suggest that an environmental difference, American mothers providing more toys to their infants, accounted for this difference in manual exploration. This is in line with home observations of 5-month-old infants and their mothers made in New York City and Sapporo by Bornstein, Miyake, and Tamis-LeMonda (1985–86). In the United States, mothers more frequently focused the infant's attention on events or objects in the surrounding environments. In Japan, mothers more frequently focused the infant's attention on the mother–infant dyad itself. This difference is consistent with the idea that the Japanese mother strives to orient her infant to ongoing reciprocal processes in the dyad while the American mother strives to increase her infant's exploration of the object world.

In another report of observations in the homes of Japanese and American families, Kawakami (1987) examined patterns of interaction between mothers and children over the first two years. The American mothers' interactions became less intense over the first two years, while the Japanese mothers' interactions became more intense over this same time period. There was also some tendency for the American mothers to be more verbal and more verbally responsive than the Japanese mothers.

The studies reviewed have not revealed consistent differences in the amount of Japanese vs. U.S. maternal comforting, but American infants do seem to spend more time vocalizing and playing with objects. These studies may indicate that while Japanese infants are actively enveloped in a sphere of interdependent functioning with mother, the American infant is encouraged to develop competence in potentially autonomous activities with objects. These patterns of mother–infant interaction and maternal speech are consistent with differences in childrearing beliefs in the two countries.

However, the studies of Japan–U.S. mother–infant interaction comparisons we have reviewed here have been criticized for their reliance on summary frequency counts. These studies suggest, for example, that there are few differences between the United States and Japan in the overall amount of face-to-face play. But what about potential differences in the *process* of mother–infant face-to-face play? Are there differences, for example, in what Japanese and American mothers respond to in their infants? An interactive approach that emphasizes the process of interaction is necessary to discern what types of patterns characterize mother-infant interaction in Japan as opposed to the United States.

Fogel, Toda, and Kawai (1988) made a Japan–United States laboratory-based comparison specifically intended to investigate sequential processes during face-to-face play. Their sample consisted of 36 mother–infant pairs in each country, recruited from middle-class backgrounds when the infants were 3 months old. Because of the possibility of differential reactivity of subjects to observers in the home, and because the university laboratory is an unfamiliar setting for the Japanese mothers (Chen, 1984–85), observations of Japanese mothers were made in the more familiar setting of the public health care center while American mothers were observed at a university. Procedures were identical in both countries with infant posture and the distance between mother and infant held constant and distracting stimuli minimized. Each mother was asked to interact with her baby for only two minutes because babies of this age can rarely sustain an intense face-to-face interaction for more than several minutes at a time. Mother's instructions were, "please play with your baby as you might normally do at home" (in Japanese, "*o uchi de yatte iru noto onaji yoo ni aite shite kudasai*"). The style of interaction was left up to the mother, but toys were not used.

Measures on each dyad were pooled to test between-group differences. Results showed that both groups of mothers engaged in lively play interaction and provided a variety of vocal, visual, and tactile stimulation to their babies. [Group means for the two minute sessions replicated the proportions of infant and mother gaze, and vocal and expressive behavior that have been found by other researchers in the United States (Cohn & Tronick, 1987; Fogel, 1977; Kaye & Fogel, 1980; Stern, 1974).] Mothers' behavior in both countries was systematically related to infants' smiles, gazes, and vocalizations, and there were few overall differences in summary measures for maternal facial expressiveness, touching, and vocalizing.

There were, however, substantial differences in the temporal patterning of the mothers' behavior with respect to the infants. In Table 3.3 we summarize the findings with narrative descriptions of U.S. and Japanese mothers.

Our findings are consonant with cultural differences in interpersonal communicative style found by Clancy (1986). Communication among Japanese adults relies more on nonverbal cues and indirect verbal messages than communication among American adults. Japanese spoken language follows strict rules that designate interpersonal status differences. Verbs appear at the end of a sentence and can be changed in tense, level of formality, or between negation and affirmation, depending upon the speakers' evaluation of the listeners' response. Thus, *Japanese pay closer attention to nonverbal signals, and often express important affective and interpersonal messages indirectly.* U.S. speakers, on the other, value direct expression of feelings and precision in conveying meaning.

Because the "topic" of communication during the face-to-face period is the mutual exchange of affective feelings (Stern, 1974), one would expect mothers to use culturally appropriate means of expressing affect: through nonverbal displays and indirect statements for the Japanese mothers and through direct verbal statements for the U.S. mothers. In our sample, Japanese mothers contingently and co-occurrently used a greater variety of nonverbal visual stimulation (hand gesticulation, facial expression, and looming), and more often used touching than U.S. mothers. In addition, Japanese mothers did not contingently respond to infant vocalizations nor did they use their own vocalizations as contingent responses, while American mothers did.

In a separate analysis of the mother's vocalizations in the data described above (Toda, Fogel, & Kawai, 1990) we found that Japanese mothers used more indirect, verbal means to communicate interpersonal meaning than American mothers. In general the speech of the U.S. mothers focused on the communication of information (directing, interpreting, reporting, and answering), while the speech of Japanese mothers was affect-salient (encouraging or discouraging,

Table 3.3. Summary of Findings from Microanalytic Study of Mother–Infant Play

U.S. mothers. When the baby looked, smiled, or vocalized the U.S. mothers reduced their own expressiveness and vocalizing. If the baby continued to look at mother, she resumed with a series of facial expressions and vocalizations. These actions served also as the primary response mode to the infant's smiling and vocalizing. U.S. mothers spent about two-thirds of their time holding their face relatively close to the infants', using the intimacy of proximity to engage in an interaction dominated by shifts of facial expression and vocalizations.

Japanese mothers. When the baby looked, smiled, or vocalized the Japanese mothers reduced their own expressiveness and vocalizing, while they leaned close and touched their babies. If the baby continued to look at the mother, she resumed with a series of looming leaning movements accompanied by touching. When the baby smiled she returned the infant's smile with a smile or laugh, and relied less on touching and looming. Japanese mothers used a variety of auditory and visual displays with their hands—gesticulating and clapping—but this behavior did not seem to have a simultaneous or contingent relationship to any of the infant behaviors that we coded.

greeting, calling by name, singing songs, and using onomatopoeics). Mothers from the United States were also more likely to use grammatically correct utterances, to talk about their infants' actions, and to ask direct (yes/no or wh-) questions.

Perhaps the most interesting cultural differences between the speech to infants was that Japanese mothers used a great deal more baby talk than the U.S. mothers. Baby talk (BT) is a specific register of language felt to be appropriate with children, and it contrasts with adult usages. For example, in the United States, BT for "stomach" is "tummy;" in Japan the adult word for stomach, "onaka," is rendered in BT as "ponpo." In our 2-minute interactions, United States mothers used BT an average of one time, usually either "mama" or "tummy." In contrast, the Japanese mothers used BT an average of six times in 2 minutes. Table 3.4 gives some examples of BT used by Japanese mothers. In the United States, mothers appear to use BT to get the infant's attention. In Japan, BT, with its formal if playful demarcation of child and adult status, may be a conventional way to express affection for the infant.

There is ample evidence that maternal speech to preverbal infants serves different functions in Japan and the United States. Japanese mothers' speech acts to infants appear to be direct emotional interventions while American mothers appear to more often use speech to comment on and to their infants. Caudill and Weinstein (1969) and Shand and Kosawa (1985a) reported that American mothers chatted more to their infants who engaged in more noncrying vocalizations than did Japanese infants. American mothers, who value verbal directness, may be encouraging verbal proficiency. Japanese mothers tended to chat to their infants when the infants were upset, perhaps to soothe them. Chew (1969; cited in Ferguson, 1977) found more instances of baby talk, shorter utterances, and more contentless utterances in Japanese compared to Western mothers' speech to preverbal infants. U.S. mothers' speech to 3-month-olds has been found to contain a large percentage of references to the infants' state and expression

Table 3.4. Examples of Baby Talk Used by Japanese Mothers

English Equivalent	Adult Speech	Baby Talk	Explanation
Are you hungry?	Onaka suita?	Onaka shuita	Phonological change
Let's play	Asobimashoo	Achobimachoo	Phonological change
Please	Doozo	Doojo	Phonological change
Eye	Me	Meme	Duplication
It hurts	Itai	Itai-itai	Duplication
Get up	Okiru	Okii	Shortening
Hiccup	Shakkuri	Hikku hikku	Mimic sound of action
Lamp	Denki	Denki-san	Use of honorific
Dirty	Katanai	Batchii	Entirely new word

Source: Toda, Fogel, & Kawai (1990).

(Kaye, 1982), suggesting that U.S. mothers rely heavily on direct speech to communicate about and respond to infant affect.

The studies reviewed suggest a basic correspondence between beliefs about child care and actual interaction. Japanese mothers encourage interdependence by comforting the infant and focusing infant attention toward dyadic events. Their speech acts tend to be direct emotional interventions. American mothers encourage autonomy by directing the infant to activities with objects and by speaking with the infant in a direct manner, as if the infant were a full conversational partner. This research suggests that the observed patterns of mother-infant interaction and maternal speech are consistent with differences in child-rearing beliefs in the two countries. Similar conclusions may be derived from research on the mother-preschooler relationship, to which we now turn.

THE MOTHER-PRESCHOOLER RELATIONSHIP

The research by Azuma, Hess, Kashiwagi and colleagues (Conroy et al., 1980; Hess et al., 1980, 1986) offers an excellent illustration of cross-national differences in parent beliefs and parent-child interaction. Their sample consisted of 76 Japanese and 67 North American mothers and their 4-year-old children observed individually and interacting together.

When mothers were asked at what age they expected their 4-year-olds to acquire skills, it emerged that Japanese mothers expected earlier emotional maturity, compliance, and social courtesy. American mothers expected earlier verbal assertiveness and social skill with peers. Asked how they would intervene if their child was doing something socially undesirable, it appeared that Japanese mothers were more likely to appeal to the child's feelings and to the consequences of the child's action: "If you make noise in the supermarket the grocer will become upset because he works hard to make the market a nice place to shop." In comparison, American mothers said they would more often appeal to their own authority: "Stop making noise!" This research on mothers' beliefs about their children and their interactions with them may indicate that Japanese mothers are interested in promoting their children's maturity in facilitating social situations by focusing the children on interpersonal elements of the situations. American mothers seem more interested both in developing and in controlling their children's ability to assert themselves.

In a teaching task, Japanese mothers clarified the instructions and emphasized the specific procedures leading to completion. The American mothers asked the child to verbalize his or her understanding of the task and emphasized the child's conceptual integration of the task. Japanese mothers attempted to focus on "how to" rather than "why," while U.S. mother stressed "why" rather than "how." The Japanese mothers used simpler speech, while U.S. mothers relied on elaborate vocal interchanges. In general, these results suggest that American mothers attempt to convince their children to do things while Japanese mothers assume that their child will want to and encourage their desire by showing them how.

Similar patterns were discovered by one of us (Messinger, 1992) in comparing the interactions of Japanese and American middle-class mothers and their 2-year-olds. The hypothesis was that, when working together on a task, the Japanese dyads would show more interdependence in working together while the American toddlers would show more autonomy in working alone. The Japanese nationals were Japanese citizens living in the Chicago area for three years or less; they spoke Japanese at home and planned to educate their children in Japan. For the study, an examiner in the home presented the mothers with a turtle-shaped shape sorter with seven differently shaped blocks and openings and said, "Please help [name] complete this task as many times as possible in 10 minutes."

On the physical level of performing the task, American toddlers fit a higher proportion of shapes autonomously (see Table 3.5). They were more likely to do the task themselves or to try to do so before the mother assisted them. Japanese mothers assisted in a higher proportion of infant attempts to fit a block and also issued more assists over the course of the 10 minute interaction. Perhaps as a consequence, Japanese dyads fit more shapes into the turtle than American dyads.

American toddlers manifested more autonomy not only in filling the puzzle but in preparing the turtle to be filled. American toddlers seemed eager to open, dump, and close the turtle on their own and were often encouraged to do this by their mothers. American toddlers engaged in what for Japanese dyads was more often an auxiliary, parental role. Some American toddlers emptied the puzzle before it was completed, thereby controlling the pace at which the task was done.

Table 3.5. Puzzle Task Measures

	Japanese	American
Number of Maternal Physical Assists	26.5	47.2**
Number of Shapes Fit	37.3	18.1
Toddler's Proportion of Autonomous Trials in Filling Puzzle	.599	.756***
Toddler's Proportion of Autonomous Trials in Preparing Puzzle	.341	.610****
Seconds Toddler Spent Away from Task	5.6	59.4*

Results of *t*-tests performed in context of regression using nationality, sex, age, and the interaction of nationality and sex as independent variables (proportions were transformed to logits for comparison).

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p = .005
****p = .001

But the most striking example of the interpersonal autonomy of the American toddlers was that they left the task for longer than did the Japanese toddlers. Only three Japanese toddlers left the task while all but three of the American toddlers did so.

In general, Japanese mothers seemed eager to help their children complete the task as many times as possible. They seemed to slip easily into an intensive helping role that continues, albeit in a more academic form, throughout childhood. Close physical interaction seemed the norm as mothers sought to facilitate their toddler's performance by handing over blocks and pointing out where they might go. Japanese toddlers seemed to have internalized a desire to do the task in the way that the mother considered appropriate. One Japanese mother interested her daughter in the task by suggesting incorrect blocks to her daughter. Her daughter, who had appeared apathetic until that time, responded with vigorous task completion. But frustrated or not, Japanese toddlers stayed at the task.

American mothers seemed most interested in toddlers demonstrating their ability to do the task by themselves. American toddlers probably had more experiences of doing the task on their own and of attempting to do so than Japanese toddlers. American toddlers also seemed to have internalized a sense of their autonomy. Some made the task easier for themselves by dumping out the turtle puzzle before all the blocks were fit. Others, frustrated or simply more interested in doing something else, left the task for 10 times as long as did Japanese children. Mothers either let their children wander off or engaged in verbal negotiating and physical struggle to get their toddlers to return.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has reviewed differences in the parent–child relationship in Japan and the United States, focusing on parent beliefs, the home environment, and parent–infant and parent–child relationships. In both nations, beliefs about what children are like and what is best for them are reflected in interactional styles with children. But beliefs and interactional styles are very different in Japan and the United States.

On both a cultural level and in the structure of home life, the Japanese mother's relationship with the infant is especially primary. The ideal is for the mother to create a relationship in which the infant is naturally drawn into considerate, interdependent, competent interactions with others. The first step is to satisfy the infant's desires for proximity, to accept and respond directly to the infant's proclivities and affective needs. Within this context, mothers focus the infant's attention on reciprocal interpersonal processes. Children are to behave, for example, lest they hurt someone else's feelings or lest they themselves become ostracized. After infancy, competence in various areas is encouraged by showing children how things are done and actively working with them on tasks. The degree of interdependence fostered between parent and child in Japan cannot be underestimated.

In the United States, eventual self-reliance and self-assertion are valued. Infants are provided with toys and encouraged to do tasks on their own. Infants are spoken to in a relatively adult way and verbal proficiency is encouraged throughout childhood. Infants are oriented towards areas in which they can practice and develop autonomy. Children are also encouraged to stick up for themselves and say what they want. However, parents attempt to control their children's self-assertion by appealing to their own authority. In this respect, American ideals of childrearing and actual practice are often inconsistent, such that ideals of autonomy may contribute to parent–child conflict.

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4

The Socialization of Australian Boys and Girls in Middle Childhood for Independence and Achievement.*

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AUSTRALIA: A COUNTRY OF RECENT ORIGINS

White settlement in Australia began with the arrival in 1788 of the First Fleet, sent by the British government to colonize the continent. The colony was intended to act as a dumping ground for convicts, the unwanted of the British Isles (Burns & Goonow, 1979). The transportation of convicts continued until the last shipment in 1868 (Hughes, 1988). The construction of Australia as an immigrant country has continued into the twentieth century. Brown in 1980 claimed that "almost half the increase in population since 1947 has come from new settlers and their families" (p. 12). The source of immigrants has been relatively restricted, with the "majority of people in Australia [being] of European origin and . . . almost half have come from the British Isles" (Brown, 1980, p. 12).

After substantial periods of assimilationists policies, present Australian governments have moved towards the acceptance, recognition, and even encouragement of some cultural diversity, based on the origins of the various immigrant groups and the indigenous aboriginal population. Nevertheless, the Anglo tradition is the most clearly identifiable source of present mainstream Australian society and culture.

Geographically, Australia is relatively large, being about the size of the United States. However, it is a dry continent and is sparsely populated, with

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16,957,100 people in December 1989. The population is overwhelmingly distributed around the fertile coastal fringes, and the country is highly urbanized, with nine main population centers accounting for about two-thirds of the population (Brown, 1980).

AUSTRALIAN FAMILY LIFE AND CHILDREARING

Australian family life is typically organized in separate households, with children living with one or two adults. In 1986 there was an average of two dependent children in couple families and 1.5 children in one-parent families (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p. 6). While the divorce rate rose dramatically during the 1970s, associated partly with the Family Law Act of 1976 (which removed some barriers to the dissolution of marriage), the divorce rate has stabilized since 1981, and declined slightly from 1983 until the Census in 1986 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p. 9). In 1985 Burns and Goodnow (1985, p. 55) reported that "some 40 percent of all marriages are now ending in divorce." Not all such marriages involved children, however, and in the 1986 Census it was found that "eighty four percent of children aged 0 to 14 years lived in married couple families, and 95 percent of these children were the natural or adopted children of the couple" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1989, p. 22). The remainder lived in single-parent families (12%) and with de facto couples (4%).

Along with other urbanized Western societies, a significant recent trend in Australian families is for both mothers and fathers to be employed. "By 1985 just over half (50.5 per cent) of married women with children were in the paid workforce, compared with 40.7 per cent ten years earlier. The increase has been greatest among the 25- to 44-year olds, that is, the main childrearers. These women are, however, much more likely than men to be in part-time and low-status jobs. . . ." (Goodnow, Burns, & Russell, 1989, p. 25). Although both parents are working, in common with other Western societies men have not especially taken to sharing childrearing (Antill & Cotton, 1988; Russell & Russell, 1987).

Research on the development and socialization of Australian children overwhelmingly has been conducted as part of a literature centered on North America and Europe (Antill, Bussey, & Cunningham, 1985; Goodnow, Burns, & Russell, 1985, 1989). This means that, by and large, researchers have accepted sufficient commonality between Australian families and those from other Western cultures to consider that data from Australia can contribute equally to the issues and research problems of developmental psychology. It also means that, in the main, researchers have not attempted to construct a unique developmental psychology for the Australian context (Goodnow et al., 1989).

This does not mean that there has been no debate or concern about the extent to which Australian society may differ from other Western cultures. Issues that have been discussed include whether Australia is a more sex-typed society, and whether Australian men play a less significant role in family life and child care. The evidence on these points is equivocal, and while it has been claimed that Australia may be more sex-typed (Conway, 1985), the data are neither strong nor convincing in that direction (Goodnow et al., 1989; Russell, 1987). The evidence also points to there being few differences between Australian and other Western fathers for participation in child care (Russell & Radin, 1983). Claims have also been made about Australians being more egalitarian and less oriented to independent achievement (Encel, 1987; Feather, 1989), although again there is little cross-cultural research to support this position. The main point seems that if there are unique features of Australian society reflected in aspects of families and childrearing, they appear to be subtle.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT

The present chapter deals with an area of socialization that is common to most cultures, especially Western cultures. This is the socialization of the child for independence, individualistic enterprise, and achievement. Throughout childhood, all parents confront the issue of assisting their children to become independent of the family so that they are eventually able to function as autonomous adults. The time of middle childhood is when this issue becomes especially salient in Western societies, as the child comes under the influence of other major socializers, the school and the peer group (Newson & Newson, 1976).

Whenever the qualities associated with achievement or the socialization of achievement are examined, important elements are independence and competitiveness (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953; Sontag, Baker, & Nelson, 1958), especially in the individualistically oriented Western cultures. These qualities were the main focus of the present study. This is not to deny that there are other elements associated with the development of the child's orientation toward achievement. These include such things as (a) a joy in discovery, mastery, or problem solving, (b) beliefs associated with an internal locus of control, for example, that the individual is responsible for the success he or she achieves (Rotter, 1966), and (c) appropriate beliefs about one's abilities and the role of effort in achieving success (Nicholls & Miller, 1984).

The socialization of independence and achievement within the family clearly occurs in multiple ways. Some of these have been outlined in social learning theory, where the emphasis is on processes such as modeling and the reinforcement of appropriate behavior (Bandura, 1977; Crandall, 1967). Direct training of children has also been identified as a factor. Thus, "children who are taught early to master tasks, and to do so on their own, tend to be higher in achievement motivation, or need for achievement (Nach), than children who do not receive such training . . . (Carr & Mednick, 1988, p. 169). Another important factor is parental expectations for behavior and achievement (Cohen, 1987; Saltiel, 1985).

In their classic text, McClelland et al. (1953) argue that parents of high-need achievers emphasize independence training, and expect children to be self-reliant at an earlier age than parents of children who are low-need achievers. Winterbottom's data (1958) confirmed this prediction in a study of boys aged 8 to 10. In another classic study, Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) found that mothers and fathers of boys (9- to 11-year-olds) high on achievement motivation were more likely to set high standards for the boys and stressed the importance of performing well. Rosen (1959) also emphasized features of socialization such as early attention to self-reliance and independence, as well as parents' educational and vocational aspirations for their child. The kinds of factors suggested by Rosen (Rosen, 1961) have been examined in the Australian context in a series of studies by Marjoribanks (Marjoribanks, 1980, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). The repeated finding is that the family environment is influential on such things as adolescents' aspirations or achievement ambitions, although ethnic group differences are apparent.

A wide range of other family environmental factors has also been examined in relation to the characteristics of independence and achievement in children. For example, Baumrind (1973) found that children who are highly independent and achievement-oriented are more likely to have parents who exhibit an authoritative style of child rearing than either a permissive or an authoritarian style. Authoritative parents, among other things, set standards and have expectations for the child, exert firm control (although doubts have been expressed about the significance of firm control in the authoritative style (Lewis, 1981)), and provide the child with a substantial degree of responsibility for his or her own behavior.

GENDER ROLES AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT

There has been an overlap in the literature between the fields of gender socialization and socialization for independence and achievement. Australia clearly remains a sex-typed society in such things as family roles, as outlined above, and the form of masculine and feminine participation in the workforce (men in higher status and better paid jobs, and women in lower status, poorer paid and more part-time jobs). The general nature of the socialization and education of boys and girls, and equity or equal opportunity programs are presently major issues of debate in Australia.

There is a substantial literature suggesting that socialization practices in

Western societies, including Australia, are oriented more to independence and achievement in boys than in girls (Antill, Bussey, & Cunningham, 1985; Block, 1983; Hoffman, 1977; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Newson & Newson, 1976). Important questions in the present research was firstly to determine whether boys actually showed higher levels of independence and competitiveness than girls and then whether this may have arisen from parents' differential treatment of boys and girls. In the latter case, most attention has focused on the suggestion that fathers more so than mothers treat boys and girls differentially (Bronstein, 1988; Power & Shanks, 1989; Siegal, 1987), and we were interested to determine whether this would also occur in our sample of Australian families.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The findings presented here are from a multimethod-multivariate study of parent–child relationships (Russell & Russell, 1988, 1989; Russell & Russell, 1987). The participants were mainly middle-class two-parent families in Sydney with their oldest child in the second year of school (aged 6–7 years). As noted, this is a stage in children's development when they have moved out of the protected environment of the family and the issue of independence gains more prominence in child rearing. It is also when the issues of achievement and competitiveness arise for the first time for many families, through the child's success or difficulties at the major tasks of school learning such as reading, their performance in relation to other children at school, and via their participation in sport and other competitive activities.

Two main areas were investigated in the work reported here. The first concerned aspects of the nature and degree of independence and achievement behavior for Australian children of this age, including the extent to which there were differences for boys and girls. The following features of independence and achievement were investigated:

1. *Household chores.* There has been a recent interest in household chores or work in regard to its role in the fostering of independence and responsibility in children, as well as in the acquisition of gender roles (Goodnow, 1988). We examined the household chores performed by boys and girls, with a special interest in the extent to which Australian children of this age are given chores, and whether girls are assigned more domestic and child-care tasks, with boys more involved in outdoor type tasks (Block, 1978).
2. *Playing with friends and running messages.* There have been claims that boys are allowed greater freedom of movement outside the home and at an earlier age than girls (Newson & Newson, 1976). We examined an

element of this by investigating whether boys went to other children's houses to play more than girls and whether boys more than girls were reported as running messages to neighbors and local shops.

3. *The child's interests and activities outside the home.* The main focus here was the nature and extent of boys' and girls' involvement in structured competitive or achievement-oriented activities. These included sporting teams and competitions as well as activities such as music, dance, and ballet.
4. *Evidence of independence, achievement, and competitiveness during usual family behavior in the home.* These data were obtained during a family observation, and comparisons were made to determine whether boys exhibited more independence, achievement, and competitiveness than girls.

The second area examined in the research concerned the socialization of independence and achievement by Australian parents. The main questions investigated were whether fathers would be more involved in this aspect of socialization than mothers, and whether parents of boys would place more emphasis on socialization for independence and achievement than parents of girls. These hypotheses were examined via interview questions dealing with:

1. whether parents believe children are more likely to learn independence and achievement from fathers than from mothers.
2. whether fathers more than mothers believe they are responsible for the socialization of children for independence and achievement.
3. parental perceptions of their degree of influence on independence and achievement.

Parental aspirations and expectations for their child's achievement in education were also investigated, with predictions that higher aspirations and expectations would be held for boys than for girls, and by fathers in comparison with mothers. In addition, parental perceptions of developmental timetables (Goodnow & Collins, 1990) were investigated. This was done by asking parents about when children can be expected to do various things (e.g., carry out a regular household chore, make a phone call without help, etc.). It was predicted that parents would have earlier expectations for independence and achievement from boys than girls, and as argued by Goodnow and Collins (1990) mothers would have earlier expectations than fathers.

Lastly, parental reactions to independence and achievement behaviors in their child were investigated. According to social learning theory, one of the explanations for the child's acquisition of given characteristics is that these characteristics receive reinforcement from parents. We were specifically interested in whether the parents would differentially react in a positive manner to the independence and achievement behavior of boys and girls during a home observation. Another question of interest was whether girls might not be reinforced for dependence so much as receive lower rates of positive responses to independence than boys. In this regard, Hoffman (1977) argued "I do not think the daughter is trained in dependency so much as she is deprived of the training in independence that her brother receives."

THE SAMPLE

The subjects for the study were 57 volunteer families from Sydney. They each had an eldest child (29 boys, 28 girls, aged 6–7 years) in the second year of school. All families had either two or three children, and it was a requirement that mothers were at home from the finish of school in the afternoon. All couples were married (mean length of marriage was 9.4 years). The mean age of mother was 32.4 years and of fathers 34.2 years. The sample was middle class, with 63 percent of fathers have a university degree. On Congalton's (1969) scale their mean occupational status ranking was 2.9 (a ranking of 2 includes university lecturers, engineers, accountants, and pharmacists, and a ranking of 3 includes school teachers and retail managers).

DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The data were collected via a home interview with parents and a home observation of the whole family. The part of the interview in which parents described the behavior and characteristics of their child was done jointly. When parents described their own roles, beliefs, and behaviors, mothers and fathers were interviewed separately.

PARENTAL INTERVIEWS AND MEASURES

Self-Report Measures on Children

(a) *Household chores.* Parents were asked about the things the child does to help around the house or garden. The chores were grouped into categories based partly on a content analysis of the responses and partly from other research (Antill & Cotton, 1988; White & Brinkerhoff, 1981; Zill & Peterson, 1982). In each case, the response was coded according to whether or not the child did each category of chore. The list of chores is given in Table 4.1. (b) *Playing with friends and running messages.* Parents were asked how often the child played with friends and how often the child went to friend's homes to play. Responses were coded using a 5-point scale of relative frequency (see Table 4.2). In addition they were asked whether the child ran messages to neighbors or to local shops. (c) *Interests and activities outside the home.* Parents were asked about the child's main interests and activities outside the home. The categories used were developed from pilot work and are outlined in Table 4.3.

Self-reports on parental roles, beliefs and behavior

(a) Mothers and fathers were asked about their beliefs concerning whether each of a list of child characteristics is more likely to be learned from fathers or more likely to be learned from mothers. Parents sometimes insisted that the child did not learn a characteristic especially from either mothers or fathers, and then the "both parents" category was scored. Parental beliefs about a wide range of child characteristics were examined, but data here are presented only for those dealing with independence and achievement (see Table 4.4). (b) Mothers and fathers were asked whether there were any things about bringing up the target child that they believed were especially their responsibility. A content analysis of parent's answers was used to develop categories for the responses. Table 4.5 outlines the main categories. These included responsibilities for aspects of independence and achievement, but the other main areas of socialization mentioned are also given to provide an overview of parental perceptions of their childrearing responsibilities. (c) Mothers and fathers were asked how much influence they had over each of a series of child characteristics. Parents were given the choice of four responses: 1—a lot of influence; 2—some influence; 3—very little influence; 4—no influence. The data presented (see Table 4.6) relate to those items dealing with independence and achievement. (d) Mothers and fathers were asked to indicate their aspirations and expectations for the highest level of educational achievement for the target child, and (e) Mothers and fathers were asked when a child can usually do various things. A list of achievements was given (see Table 4.7) and parents indicated whether they believed a child can usually be expected to do these things (i) before 5 years of age, (ii) at 6 or 7 years of age, or (iii) at 8 or older.

OBSERVATIONAL PROCEDURES AND MEASURES

The observational procedures and measures have been detailed in Russell and Russell (1987). Briefly, it involved $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of observation when both parents were at home, from the time the father arrived home after work. It always included the family meal and a ring-toss game that the family was asked to play. The latter was specifically intended to provide an opportunity for competitiveness. Specific parent and child behaviors were coded: for example, parent consulting child, sharing information, being affectionate, engaging in an activity with the child, child consulting parent, child showing independence, and so on. The behaviors were intended to represent normal parent and child behavior. In addition to coding the content of parent and child interactions in this way, we also coded parent reactions to child behavior, and child reactions to parent behavior. Of interest in the present research are (a) the frequency with which the child was observed to engage in independent, competitive, and achievement behaviors; and (b) the extent to which parents were positive, negative, and neutral in their reactions to child behaviors involving independence, competitiveness, and achievement.

RESULTS

Independence/Achievement Behaviors in Boys and Girls

Household chores. Table 4.1 contains the number of boys and girls claimed by parents to carry out each of the listed chores. Some children were claimed to do the chore as a set and regular task, while others only did so if supervised or prompted. It can be seen that household chores for children of this age were common. There was an average of three to four chores mentioned per child. The main ones related to tidying their own room/making bed, and helping at meal time (e.g., with table or dishes). Chi-square tests were conducted to compare the frequency of boys and girls for each chore. It was found that more boys brought in the milk and paper (in Australia milk and papers are delivered to homes prior to breakfast) $\chi^2 = 7.74$, $p<.01$), helped with meals ($\chi^2 = 9.10$, $p<.01$), and did outside chores ($\chi^2 = 11.12$, $p<.01$).

Table 4.1. Percentage of Children Engaged in Each Household Chore

	Boys	Girls
Tidies room/makes bed	83	100
Puts away bike/outside toys	41	25
Brings in milk/paper	72	36**
Sets/clear table/does dishes/drying	69	86
Dresses self and gets self ready for school	24	25
Outside chores	52	11**
Helps with meals	41	7**
Helps with baby/young sibs.	14	21
Cares for pets	3	11

**$p < .01$

Table 4.2. Percentage Results for Play with Friends

	How often play with friends						How often play at friend's home				
	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
Boys	0	4	7	34	55	Boys	4	4	17	41	34
Girls	0	4	4	36	57	Girls	7	4	11	50	29

1 = never; 2 = less than once a month; 3 = once or twice a month; 4 = once or twice a week; 5 = about every day

Playing with friends and running messages. The responses for the two questions about playing with friends were coded on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (almost every day) and have been presented in Table 4.2. It can be seen that both boys and girls had reasonably high and regular contact with friends outside school. Chi-square tests on the data showed no difference between boys and girls, in either the amount they played with friends, or the amount they played at a friend's house.

There were no differences for boys and girls in the extent to which they were responsible for running messages to neighbors or local shops. Twenty-five children were reported as buying things for the parent from local shops and 38 as taking messages to neighbors.

Interests and activities outside the home. The number of boys and girls engaged in each activity has been presented in Table 4.3. It can be seen that most children were participating in at least one major activity outside the home. Chi-square tests were conducted on the number of boys and girls for each activity. Boys were much more likely than girls to be engaged in competitive sports ac-

Table 4.3. Children's Principal Interest or Activity Outside the Home; Percentages for Boys and Girls

	Boys	Girls
No activities/interests	10	7
Competitive sport	55	4***
Noncompetitive sport	21	36
Art/Craft	0	4
Ballet/dance	0	21**
Music	4	14
Church groups	7	11
Clubs	0	4
Other	4	0

**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

tivities ($\chi^2 = 18.03$, $p < .001$), while girls were more likely to be involved with ballet/dance ($\chi^2 = 7.15$, $p < .01$).

Observed behavior. The data for the degree to which children were observed to engage in various forms of independence and achievement behaviors and the extent to which they did so while interacting with mother and fathers has been reported in Russell and Russell (1987). The main findings can be summarized as follows: (a) boys engaged in more "autonomous achievement" than girls; (b) boys were more "dominant/assertive" than girls; and (c) in terms of helping with household chores, revealing competitive behavior, and demonstrating various forms of independence there was no difference between boys and girls.

Parental Socialization Roles

Learning from mothers and fathers. The data from mothers and fathers in terms of whether they believed the child was more likely to learn independence and achievement behaviors from the mother or the father have been presented in Table 4.4. Chi-square tests revealed no differences according to whether the respondents were mothers or fathers and according to whether the child was a boy or girl. It can be seen that on average 45 to 50 percent of parents believed that both mother and father had a role in the child's learning of the given characteristics. However, when they indicated that one of the parents had a major role, it can be seen that at times it was the father and at other times it was the mother who was given the major role. To examine this effect, single-sample

Table 4.4. Percentages of Parents Believing Children Learn from Mother, Father, or Both Parents

Characteristic	Learn From	Boys		Girls		Combined	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Independence standing up for self	M	4	5	9	4	12	9
	F	22	23	18	23	39	46
	B	25	23	23	23	47	46
Trying hard at things	M	7	5	11	11	18	16
	F	18	19	18	12	35	32
	B	26	26	22	26	47	53
Wanting to do well in relation to others	M	7	7	14	11	22	18
	F	16	19	19	18	35	37
	B	26	25	16	22	42	46
Being modest about success	M	26	19	18	22	44	40
	F	2	7	7	4	9	11
	B	23	25	25	25	47	46

chi-squares were conducted on the combined results for mothers and fathers separately. For "independence/standing up for self," there was a significant effect for both mothers ($\chi^2 = 11.42$, $p<.01$) and fathers ($\chi^2 = 15.46$, $p<.001$). It can be seen that for this characteristic, when a parent is indicated as the one from whom the child is most likely to have learned the characteristic, it is the father who is more often mentioned. A comparable result occurred for the characteristics of "trying hard at things" (mothers $\chi^2 = 7.68$, $p<.05$; fathers $\chi^2 = 11.68$, $p<.01$) and "wanting to do well" (mothers, not significant; fathers $\chi^2 = 7.05$, $p<.05$). In contrast, for the characteristic "being modest about success" the reverse occurred and mothers were more likely than fathers to be mentioned as the parent from whom the child may learn this characteristic (mothers $\chi2 = 15.56$, $p<.001$; fathers $\chi^2 = 12.31$, $p<.01$). Thus in these results, mothers and fathers assigned different roles to each other and showed substantial agreement about these roles.

Main parental responsibilities. The main areas of the child's upbringing for which mothers and fathers saw themselves as especially responsible have been presented in Table 4.5. Chi-square tests showed no difference in perceived responsibility according to the sex of the child. However, there were several differences according to sex of parent. These were all in the direction of mothers being seen as more responsible. This occurred for the characteristics "skills inside the home" ($\chi^2 = 7.46$, $p<.01$), "communication and social skills" ($\chi^2 = 9.32$, $p<.01$), "sensitivity to other people" ($\chi^2 = 4.93$, $p<.05$), and "values/attitudes" ($\chi^2 = 9.32$, $p<.01$).

Perceived influence. The results for main responsibilities are consistent with findings for the parent's ratings of their degree of influence over individual areas of the child's development (see Table 4.6). On these items most parents rated between 3 (some influence) and 4 (a lot of influence). Analyses of variance with sex-of-parent and sex-of-child as factors were conducted on each of the charac-

Table 4.5. Percentages of Parents Believing Mothers or Fathers are Especially Responsible for Given Aspects of Childrearing

	Boys		Girls		Combined	
Childbearing Aspect	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Education	7	14	7	18	7	16
Skills inside home (cook, sew, etc.)	7	0	18	0	12	0**
Communication/social skills	10	4	29	0	19	2**
Sensitivity to other people	17	4	14	4	16	2*
Values, attitudes	21	4	18	0	19	2**
Relate to opposite sex	10	10	25	11	18	11
Sport	4	17	4	11	4	14
Nothing specific	31	31	25	36	28	33

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

Table 4.6. Mothers' and Fathers' Perceived Influence over Child Characteristics

	Boys		Girls		Combined	
Characteristic	M	F	M	F	M	F
Independence	3.36	3.52	3.28	3.35	3.32	3.44
Trying hard	3.36	3.33	3.11	3.28	3.24	3.31
Work things out/solve problems	3.30	3.42	3.14	3.49	3.22	3.46*
Curiosity	3.23	3.30	3.14	3.32	3.19	3.31
Sporting ability	2.60	3.00	2.28	2.63	2.44	2.82**
Self-confidence	3.33	3.39	3.35	3.32	3.34	3.36
Imagination/creativity	2.75	2.81	2.76	2.56	2.76	2.69
Sensitivity to others	3.42	3.23	3.56	3.32	3.49	3.28*

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
Results are mean ratings from a four-point scale: 1 = no influence, 2 = very little influence, 3 = some influence, 4 = a lot of influence.

teristics. There were no sex-of-child effects nor sex-of-child interactions. However, parents differed in their degree of perceived influence over some behaviors: Fathers perceived they had more influence over "working things out/solving problems" and "sporting ability," while mothers perceived more influence over "sensitivity to others."

Educational expectations and aspirations. There were no differences between the aspiration and expectations of mothers and fathers nor according to whether it was parents of girls or parents of boys. In the main, parents had a uniformly highly level of both expectations and aspirations for their child.

Developmental timetables. The results for mothers' and fathers' beliefs have been presented in Table 4.7, where the characteristics have been roughly grouped according to the main age at which the achievement is evident. Chi-square tests were conducted to compare mothers versus fathers overall, mothers of girls versus mothers of boys, and fathers of girls versus fathers of boys. There were differences between mothers and fathers on several items, all in the direction of mothers expecting the achievement earlier than fathers: "shares belongings" ($\chi^2 = 8.31$, $p<.04$), "has household chores" ($\chi = 8.06$, $p<.02$), "can recall events/stories" ($\chi^2 = 8.91$, $p<.01$), and "shows interest in current affairs ($\chi^2 = 10.11$, $p<.01$).

Mothers of girls expected the following earlier than fathers of girls: "share belongings" ($\chi^2 = 7.38$, $p<.02$) and "can recall events/stories" ($\chi^2 = 6.04$, $p<.05$). Mothers of boys expected "shows interest in current affairs" earlier than fathers of boys ($\chi^2 = 5.7$, $p<.05$). Finally, mothers of girls expected them to "keep own room tidy" earlier than mothers of boys ($\chi^2 = 9.82$, $p<.01$).

These results show agreement between mothers and fathers on the developmental timetables for the mastery of a wide range of independence behaviors.

Table 4.7. **Parental Beliefs About When a Child Could be Expected to do Various Things: Percentages for Before Age 5, at 6–7 Years of Age and Older**

	Boys						Girls					
	Father			Mother			Father			Mother		
	5	6–7	8+	5	6–7	8+	5	6–7	8+	5	6–7	8+
Prior to age 5												
Entertain self alone	70	27	3	73	23	4	63	37	0	77	20	3
Takes initiative in play	70	30	0	67	23	10	60	40	0	53	43	4
Asks for explanations when in doubt	60	27	13	63	27	10	47	53	0	47	47	6
Stands up for rights with other children	53	37	10	60	30	10	60	30	10	40	40	20
Shares belongings	50	47	3	70	30	0	50	50	0	64	23	13
Can disagree without hitting	50	33	17	53	33	14	67	27	6	60	33	7
States opinions when requested	53	33	14	63	37	0	43	30	27	43	43	14
Can recall events/stories told	43	50	7	67	33	0	47	50	3	77	20	3

Around age 6–7												
Cares for own clothes	17	53	30	17	63	20	17	53	30	20	53	27
Has household chores	13	70	17	27	70	3	23	50	27	33	60	7
Responsible own things	17	80	3	13	80	7	23	63	14	20	80	0
Keeps own room tidy	17	63	20	40	37	23	23	53	24	6	67	27
Takes messages to neighbors	17	67	16	20	67	13	3	77	20	20	60	20
Comes home school alone	3	60	37	7	63	30	3	47	50	13	47	40
Reading alone	13	80	7	3	93	4	20	80	0	10	90	0
Waits for turn in games	43	40	17	50	47	3	30	60	10	40	57	3
Responsive to needs of others	33	43	34	30	53	17	23	57	20	27	47	26
Does not cry easily	26	40	34	20	20	57	40	33	27	20	37	43
Stops misbehaving when told	20	40	40	33	10	57	40	33	27	20	37	43
Accepts disappointments without crying	20	43	37	40	33	27	23	47	30	21	57	23
Gets over anger by self	27	47	26	37	33	30	30	53	17	23	43	34
Resolves disagreements without fighting	13	43	43	17	60	23	10	43	47	13	47	40
After age 6–7												
Makes phone calls without help	7	43	50	3	57	40	3	50	47	0	33	67
Stays home alone hour or so	3	7	90	0	7	93	0	3	97	0	0	100
Ride bicycle in street	10	17	73	0	23	77	3	7	90	0	10	90
Show interest in current affairs	3	23	74	10	47	43	3	20	77	3	47	50

For some of the behaviors it was clear that parents believed children showed mastery after the age of 6–7 years (e.g., making phone calls without help, and staying home alone), while for others there was substantial agreement about mastery by the age of 5 (e.g., can entertain self alone, takes initiative in play). When differences were apparent, they were primarily for mothers to expect earlier achievement than fathers. There was little evidence of differential expectations for boys versus girls.

Observed parental reactions to independence and achievement behaviors. The results for observations of parental behavior have been reported in Russell and Russell (1987). The main findings relating to the encouragement of independence and achievement concern parental reactions (positive, neutral, negative) to observed child behavior. Parents were found to be significantly more positive and significantly less negative in reactions to dependence behavior in girls than in boys. Dependence involved helping the child when the observer judged the task was easily manageable by the child, for example, child asking for help to pour a drink or asking the parent to pick up the rings for them during the ring-toss game. Parents tended to respond positively to this behavior in girls and negatively to the same behavior from boys. There was a parental difference in reactions to the child behavior "independence in deciding." The latter was scored when the child made a decision about something without consulting a parent, for example, they decided it was time for their bath, or that they should put things away and get ready for dinner. Mothers were more positive in reactions to this kind of independence than fathers. In fact, fathers tended to be more neutral in their reactions to independence in deciding.

DISCUSSION

In considering the results, the findings for child behavior and parental roles will be taken in turn.

Differences Between Boys and Girls

A general belief expressed in the literature is that in Western societies autonomy, independence, and self-reliance are encouraged more in boys than in girls (Block, 1973, 1983; Hoffman, 1977; Newson & Newson, 1976). Some aspects of the present results for our sample of Australian children bear on this question. In might have been expected, for example, that more boys than girls would have played at friends' houses and have run messages outside the home for parents. There was no evidence of this. During the observation, various forms of independence were coded and against there were no significant differences between boys and girls (Russell & Russell, 1987).

Where differences between boys and girls were found, they tended to be associated with competition and achievement. A major difference in the lives of Australian boys and girls of this age seems to be boys' much greater involvement with competitive sports. More than half the boys but only one girl participated regularly in competitive sports. "Competitive sports" here primarily meant organized team games such as soccer and football. This result might arise from greater opportunities for boys (i.e., such sports tend to be more available for boys than girls). This "opportunity," on the other hand, could be provided because of the demands and expectations of parents. In addition to this competitive involvement, boys were found to demonstrate more "autonomous achievement" during the home observation. In the main boys demonstrated this achievement through activities such as play with construction toys and puzzles. Girls' interests and activities also had an achievement orientation, with interests in ballet/dance and music. However, many fewer girls (10) were involved in these activities than boys in competitive sport (16).

Household chores. The data indicated a moderate level of participation of both boys and girls in household chores. These chores covered both the self-care and the family work categories of White and Brinkerhoff (1981). In agreement with the literature from North America (Goodnow, 1988; Hoffman, 1977) boys were found to engage in more outdoor chores such as helping in the garden and with house maintenance. Boys were also much more likely to help by bringing in the milk and paper. However, girls were not found to help more with setting and clearing the table and doing the dishes, as suggested by the results for 7–11 year-olds obtained by Zill and Peterson (1982). Actually, we found fewer girls "helped with meals" than boys. This item mainly reflects a greater tendency of boys to assist at meals by getting things for themselves (e.g., getting their own breakfast or dessert).

The results on household chores for girls were not compatible with predictions, or the claim that "girls are more frequently assigned domestic and child-care chores than are boys (e.g., looking after younger children, cooking, cleaning, food preparation, grinding) and that girls are assigned responsibilities at an earlier age than boys" (Block, 1978, p. 34). A possible explanation is that girls of this age (6–7 years) are too young to be given independent or substantial responsibilities for domestic and child-care tasks. It should be noted that Whiting and Edwards (1973), in their study of children aged 3–11 in six cultures, generally found these trends for girls evident only after about the age of 7. The essential feature of the main chores engaged in by the children in our sample seems to be their relatively straightforward nature, requiring little training or initial monitoring (e.g., tasks such as tidying one's room, clearing the table after meals, bringing in the paper, etc.). Nevertheless, it was noteworthy that we found boys to be more likely to engage in many of these tasks than girls. In this sense, the data are compatible with suggestions that boys could be trained to be self-reliant or independent at a younger age than girls.

Mother and Father Roles

Fathers were clearly perceived as having a more active role in encouraging and having influence on behaviors such as independence, trying hard, and wanting to compete and do well. In contrast, mothers were seen as more important as a source of children learning to be modest about success. The mother role outlined by this group of parents is one of encouraging communication, sensitivity, social skills, values, and attitudes.

There was some evidence of mothers expecting children to become competent and independent at an earlier age than fathers. However, this occurred for only 3 of the 26 child characteristics about which parents indicated their developmental timetables. Goodnow and Collins (1990) have argued that "mothers appear to expect at an earlier age, and perhaps press for, qualities and skills that they see as valuable for the child, as not likely to be achieved by the child without help, and as demonstrating to the world that they are 'good mothers' " (p. 29). Our data, in general, do not support such a view, of mothers holding earlier expectations than fathers.

Overall, the results for parents showed substantial differences in the perceived roles of mothers and fathers. These differences are consistent with the results of Power and Shanks (1989) for U.S. parents of children in grades 5 to 11, and with theories about differences in maternal and paternal roles (Block, 1983). What was not readily apparent from our data was a difference in parental perceptions of their roles in the socialization of boys and girls. Marjoribanks (1987) in a sample of 883 Australian families with 11-year-old children also found no sex-of-child difference in parental encouragement of independence. Similarly, Knight and Goodnow (1988) in a sample of 120 Australian parents with the eldest child aged 4, 7, or 10 found no sex-of-child difference for the amount of influence parents believed they had over child characteristics. Our observational findings revealed some small differences in parental behavior with boys and girls, but again the main results concerned sex-of-parent differences.

Parents' Differential Treatment of Boys and Girls?

It was interesting, therefore, that while there were differences between boys and girls, parents did not see their roles as substantially different in relation to boys and girls. Mostly, parental observed behavior also did not differ according to sex-of-child. An important exception occurred in the observational data, however, where parents tended to respond positively to dependence (e.g., help-seeking) behavior from girls, but negatively to the same kind of behavior from boys. Overall, the findings appear to be mainly in agreement with Hendrix and Johnson (1985) that the socialization of boys and girls contains substantial similarities (e.g., with common emphases on self-reliance and independence). Hendrix and Johnson's conclusion stands in contrast with the much more usual tendency in the literature, that is, for theories of socialization to hypothesize that boys and girls are treated differently. Our data are also consistent with suggestions that similar treatment of boys and girls might be associated with markedly different outcomes (Martin, Maccoby, & Jacklin, 1981).

It might be argued that the data on boys' greater participation in competitive sports could reflect differential parental encouragement and treatment of boys and girls. Differences in boys' and girls' participation in household chores could be interpreted in the same way. In the latter case, however, it needs to be remembered that we found no evidence of girls participating more in "feminine" household chores such as caretaking or tasks associated with meals. Finally, we also found no evidence in our data of fathers showing greater sex differentiation than mothers, another prominent hypothesis in the literature. From these results, it seems possible that the differential socialization of boys and girls might arise from child identification with or modeling of the same-sexed parent, rather than through parents' differential treatment of boys and girls.

Australian Fathers

Our data indicated that these Australian fathers saw themselves as influential in their child's development, and they reported a substantial involvement in the socialization of their children. This is consistent with findings of recent trends in other Western societies (Bronstein & Cowan, 1988). Nevertheless, as in other studies, mothers seem to have the major childrearing role. This emerged especially when parents indicated who was mainly responsible for specific aspects of childrearing (Table 4.5), and mothers were mentioned much more often as the responsible parent.

Implications

More attention needs to be given to the question over a variety of cultures whether qualities such as independence and self-reliance are valued and encouraged in both boys and girls, as well as other areas of potential common emphasis in the socialization of boys and girls. A possibility suggested by the present results is that while boys and girls may not be treated differently, the outcomes of the socialization practices may differ for boys and girls. This suggests that boys and girls may be selecting from or interpreting the family experiences to which they are exposed in gender-appropriate ways, as claimed in gender schema theory (Levy & Carter, 1989). In this way, boys and girls may be "exposed" to the same experiences or environments, but to a degree construct their own outcomes in ways consistent with gender appropriate behavior in their culture. There is a need for cross-cultural research that investigates this possibility.

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5

Family and Socialization in Turkey

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Taking our cue from the overall focus of this volume, we would like to review in this chapter recent theorizing and research relevant to child training for social roles within the Turkish family. The instrumental competencies that will be of focal interest are those related to sex roles, family roles, and authority relations.

For the most part, the discussion concentrates on more traditional sectors of Turkish society. There are two main reasons for this emphasis. First, while modern Turkey is an extremely variegated society undergoing rapid urbanization and economic development, a very large proportion of the population—nearly half—lives in rural areas, where tradition remains strong. Also, a large proportion of the "urban" population—again, about half—actually consists of relatively recent immigrants from rural areas, and while this is a very dynamic, rapidly changing group, it still remains close in values and practices to its rural roots. In addition, most residents of towns and many urban dwellers as well continue to live according to more or less traditional values. Thus, the focus here is on groups that comprise the vast majority of the Turkish population. A second reason for this focus is that these groups represent Turkish culture more clearly than do educated, middle-class urban groups, who more closely resemble similar groups in other countries (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1986).

Naturally, there is a good deal of pressure, stemming from a number of sources, that serves to promulgate change in traditional forms of family organization. The processes of urbanization and industrialization currently being undergone by Turkish society exert probably the greatest pressure for change. Another force for change derives from large-scale exposure to European and North American culture through the mass media and through labor migration to Europe. Perhaps even more significant are official policies supporting modernization, industrialization, and Westernization. These policies include secularization, mass education, and a Swiss-style civil code, and they extend to the current application for entrance to the European Community. These social and ideological transformations, together with a rapid population increase and wide regional differences, have resulted in the creation of fairly large urban groups whose education, occupations, lifestyles, and values differ considerably from the traditional.

This great range of differentiation within Turkish society means that any given descriptive statement generally applies best to a particular subgroup, such as the urban middle class, rural-urban migrants, rural agricultural workers, and so forth. Social class differences are especially important, since Turkey, like most other developing societies, is highly stratified. Much recent research tends to focus on ethnic differences, but the effects of socioeconomic differences are often confounded with the effects of ethnicity, and may even override them (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1986). Therefore, generalization across social classes is often problematic. The internal differentiation of Turkish society is noted here to sensitize the reader to the difficulties of making accurate statements about Turkish culture. Nonetheless, while the practices and values described in this chapter tend to be more marked in rural and traditional settings and more attenuated in urban, better-educated groups, the main outlines are probably fairly robust throughout most of the social structure. It should be noted, however, that many of the characteristics described are not unique to the Turkish family or culture, but are shared by other non-Western societies with communal orientations and a "culture of relatedness" (Kagitçibasi 1985, 1987, 1990). This point is further elaborated later, and some of these commonalities with other cultures are pointed out in the course of the chapter.

SOCIALIZATION FOR SEX ROLES

Socialization for sex roles begins in the Turkish family even before the child is born. Prospective parents tend to prefer one sex over another, and have different expectations and impute different values to children of the two sexes. Son preference is found to be prevalent in most societies and is known to be a factor contributing to high fertility. A cross-cultural study on the value of children for parents (VOC), conducted with nationally representative samples in nine countries (Germany, Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and the United States) also provided evidence for this (see Kagitçibasi, 1982a, 1982b; Fawcett, 1983).

Turkish families interviewed in this study showed an overwhelming preference for boys: On a forced-choice question, 84 percent of respondents stated that they would prefer to have a son, while only 16 percent stated a preference for a daughter. This pattern was even more exaggerated among fathers, who were nearly unanimous (92.5%) in preferring sons, and was somewhat moderated among mothers, 75 percent of whom expressed a preference for a son (Kagitçibasi, 1982a).

This very high level of boy preference appears to be related to the anticipated value of the son in realizing the parents' wishes (such as carrying on the family name) and in contributing to their welfare through financial and practical help and care in their old age, especially in the rural traditional context. A girl is regarded as "the property of strangers," since when she marries she will contribute to the welfare of her husband's family, not her own. In the VOC study, almost twice as many parents of sons as parents of daughters expected to rely on their child "a great deal" for financial support in their old age. Likewise, nearly twice as many parents of daughters as parents of sons expected not to rely on such financial support at all (Kagitçibasi, 1982a).

A child born into this context of preformed values and expectations is rather soon subjected to both subtle and overt pressures to fit into his or her sex role. As is found throughout the literature on sex-role socialization in Western countries, Turkish parents permit more independence and aggressiveness in their sons and more dependence and obedience in their daughters (although strong independence is not encouraged for either sex) with restrictions on girls becoming steadily more marked with increasing age of the child (Basaran, 1974).

The economic value attributed to male offspring is manifested in the attempts made by families, often at considerable financial sacrifice, to educate their sons; and conversely, low expectations regarding the economic utility of female offspring are reflected in reluctance to educate daughters. At every educational level males outnumber females (see Table 5.1).

The sexes begin to be separated by the early school years. While sex segregation in childhood is a common feature of American and other societies (Maccoby, 1980), in Turkey it tends to persist into the teen and adult years to a much greater extent than it does in Western societies.

Concerns about morality and honor lead to strict sex segregation of unmarried young people, except for those few who continue their education in coeducational institutions—and from the figures on educational attainment we can estimate that less than 10 percent of the population has attended such an institution after early adolescence. The majority of these few students are also prevented from having significant extracurricular interaction with the opposite sex.

Table 5.1. Population by Gender and Education Level: 1980, 1985

Education— Completed Schooling	1980 (%)		1985 (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	20.0	45.3	13.5	31.8
Literate	18.4	14.6	18.8	18.0
Primary school	44.2	31.4	47.6	39.4
Secondary	7.6	3.7	8.5	4.5
High school + above	9.7	4.8	11.4	6.0
Unknown	0.1	(0.04)	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9

In traditional sectors of the population, sex segregation continues nearly full force even after marriage (cf. Kandiyoti, 1982). After Bott's (1957) classic study of British families, Olson (1982) has described a "duofocal" family structure in Turkey, in which wives and husbands live in virtually separate worlds—the wife in a world of female relatives, neighbors, and children, and the husband in a world of male relatives, friends, and workmates. This separation is reinforced by the clear sex-typing of traditional male and female work roles. This pattern of distinctiveness of sex roles and lack of sharing between spouses, coupled with supportive same-sex kinship and friendship networks, extends into the towns and is also common among recent rural migrants to the large cities (Kagitçibasi, 1982a; Kandiyoti, 1977, 1982).

Quite basic to sex-role segregation and the subordination of women is the concept of *namus* (honor), which refers primarily to the chastity of women. Honor as *namus* implies that men control the sexuality of their women (wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relatives), and that men have honor when their control is socially recognized and legitimized (Magnarella, 1974; Meeker, 1976; Dubetsky, 1976).

Honor reflects the other-directed, face-to-face character of social relations within the small community, the great significance of others' evaluations, and an orientation to shame (*ayip*) rather than guilt. The communal nature of honor reinforces the close ties binding the individual, family, kin, and community, so much so that sometimes the honor of a whole village or community is affected by the honor of a man (Ozgur & Sunar, 1982).

Within the traditional family, therefore, young women are strictly controlled. Despite the importance of their behavior for the honor of the family, their status is low. The young bride is especially pressured, being expected to serve all the adults within the patriarchal family. Once she gives birth to a son, however, her status increases, reaching its peak when the son is grown up and brings a bride into the family, thus repeating the cycle. Here, then, is another factor which supports boy preference.

Parenthetically, we may note here an interesting contrast between Turkish culture (and similar cultures) and Western culture in terms of the relation between women's age and their status. While in Turkish society, women's status increases with age and the concomitant changes during the family cycle, Western women, whose status depends to some extent on youth and beauty, lose status as they grow older (Brown, Kerns, et al., 1985).

Moreover, it would be wrong to assume that women have no power in the traditional society. Women's networks provide women with much emotional support and strength. Even though men have the legitimate "authority" on many issues, it is often through women's networks that some important information or messages get conveyed to different groups and solutions are found (see, e.g., Benedict, 1974; Aswad, 1974).

Sex-role differentiation includes a relatively strict division of labor between men and women. In rural areas, men are generally responsible for the heaviest work, such as building and plowing, and they carry on most external relations, such as marketing, but they have few if any responsibilities for daily maintenance of the household. Women are responsible for tasks such as gardening, care of domestic animals, and food preservation, in addition to child care, household chores, and cooking. It is considered shameful for a man to do anything that is regarded as women's work, so that he requires the service of a woman for virtually anything that he wants or needs within the household. Conversely, a woman is expected to provide such service.

The heavy burdens of the rural woman are lightened somewhat in the towns and cities, since many farm-related tasks are eliminated. However, the differentiation between men's and women's work is still preserved. This pattern is moderated in families in which the wife is employed, and in better-educated urban families, but a sharp distinction between male and female roles may be considered the norm throughout Turkish society.

Not only are work roles clearly sex-typed, but males and females are also regarded as having different personality characteristics. However, sex-role stereotypes in Turkish society differ in important and surprising respects from the sex-role stereotypes documented in Western societies (for Western stereotypes, see, among others, Albrecht, Bahr, & Chadwick, 1977; Bem, 1974; Best, Williams, & Briggs, 1980; Block, 1973; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972). Most Western investigations have suggested that "masculine" and "feminine" are differentiated primarily with regard to the concepts of "instrumental" and "expressive," with the male sex role calling for instrumental orientation and behavior, and the female sex role calling for expressive orientation and behavior.

However, only weak evidence for the instrumental vs. expressive dimension has been found in studies of sex-role stereotypes in Turkey. Rather, one of these studies, an exceptionally thorough investigation by Gürbüz (1985), called into question the assumption that these two concepts function as sex-role opposites in Turkish culture. Following the suggestion of the work by Bem (1974) on the concept of androgyny, and by others (e.g., Hendrix & Johnson, 1985) that instrumentality and expressiveness may actually be independent dimensions, Gürbüz showed that the instrumentality dimension, including concepts such as active/passive and dominant/subordinate, accounts for most of the content of sex-role characteristics endorsed by Turkish respondents. An earlier investigation by Sunar (1982) showed that Turkish men attributed some (negative) expressive characteristics to women, but again the majority of differences perceived between the sexes lay on the instrumentality dimension. That study also showed that male respondents endorsed the stereotypes more strongly than did female respondents, a result that was partially replicated by Gürbüz.

The most striking finding of the Gürbüz study was that both male and female Turkish respondents regarded a number of expressive characteristics, such as "affectionate," "cheerful," "gentle," "sympathetic," "soft-spoken," "eager to soothe hurt feelings," "sensitive to the needs of others," and "loyal," as being equally descriptive of and equally desirable for the two sexes. A related and similarly striking finding was that "independent," "aggressive," and "individualistic," which are the instrumental characteristics that are perhaps most opposed to the expressive characteristics listed above, are seen as undesirable for both sexes, while dependency is a trait that is seen as desirable for both sexes. Thus, the Turkish child is socialized into a view of sex-typing which is rather different from that to which the Western child is exposed.

Findings from some other studies carried out in male-dominant, traditional societies can be interpreted as being in line with those of Gürbüz's (1985) study. These studies suggest greater androgyny in general, as well as greater expressiveness of males (e.g., Ravinder, 1987), especially in old age (McCabe, 1984). One explanation is in terms of socialization patterns which inculcate in both boys and girls a sensitivity to other's needs and feelings, which is instrumental in closely knit groups; this point will be elaborated further below.

FAMILY ROLES: SPOUSES, PARENTS, CHILDREN

In Turkish society, as in almost all societies, the most powerful sources of children's socialization for the family roles of spouse and parent are the models provided by the mother and father. The relationship between the parents serves both as a model of male-female relations in general and as a model of spousal roles in particular, while the relationship between the parents and the children provides models of the roles of mother and father. More direct socialization pressures teach the child his or her own role as a son or daughter.

It is perhaps most useful to take these issues in reverse order, beginning with the child role, then moving through the parental roles to spousal roles. In any case, this is probably the order in which the child learns the roles.

The role of the child in a traditional Turkish family may be conceptualized on two main dimensions. The first of these is the child's place in the interdependent family structure, and the second is the child's sex-role identity as a son or daughter. These dimensions are not entirely independent of one another, but they can be separated for analytic purposes.

The Value of Children study (Kagitçibasi, 1982a) clearly showed a utilitarian approach to children in traditional sectors of the Turkish population. Children's economic value to the family, including both material contributions while they are young and the old-age security they provide to their parents when they grow up, is a prime reason for wanting to have a child or another child. The pattern of material interdependence of the generations is built into the family life cycle, so that first the child is dependent on the parents, with this dependence being reversed later on when the elderly parents become dependent on the grown-up offspring.

Material interdependence is reflected in social values and in the aspirations of the parents for their children. For example, a closed-ended question in the VOC study inquired into the qualities of children considered most desirable by parents. Among the qualities listed, obedience was valued most (60%) and independence and self-reliance least (18%). Among the VOC countries, similar results were obtained in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand (Kagitçibasi, 1982a; 1984). Parallel findings emerged in a study of lower class Turkish preschool children and their mothers (Kagitçibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). In this study also, the most frequently mentioned positive quality of children was obedience, while autonomy and similar concepts, far from being seen as positive, were among the most frequently mentioned negative qualities of children. It seems safe to assume, then, that children are socialized to be obedient and to stifle any urges for autonomy that they may experience.

Just as they value certain qualities in their children while they are growing up, parents also have hopes and expectations regarding their children after they become adults. Again in the results of the VOC study, we see that Turkish parents emphasize "being close and loyal" and "being faithful to the parents" as desirable qualities of adult children.

Similar patterns were found earlier in other societies with closely knit, communalistic orientations (Minturn & Lambert, 1964; LeVine, Klein, & Owen, 1967) as well as in the VOC countries mentioned above. The comparative VOC study showed that in those societies where the old-age security value of children was stressed, obedience was also valued highly. This is because obedient children are expected to be loyal to their parents later on, whereas independent children may look after their own individual interests when they become adults.

These values and aspirations are in marked contrast to those found in Western countries (Kagan, 1984; Spence, 1985; Kagitçibasi, 1984, 1990), and they contrast to some extent also with findings of the VOC study in middle-class urban Turkish society. It is in the context of poverty and material dependence on the primary group, then, that we see the fullest development of values which favor loyalty, obedience, and closely knit interpersonal ties among family members. Mutual support rather than individualistic achievement is the norm in the traditional family.

With economic development, while the economic value of the child loses importance, his or her psychological value does not change, but may even increase, as was found in Turkey (Kagitçibasi, 1982a). The decline of the economic VOC signals decreasing material interdependencies between generations. However, since there is evidence for the continuation of emotional interdependencies, this does not appear to lead to the individuated-separated interpersonal relations typical of the prototypic Western family and society. A general high level of dependence on adult offspring was noticeable among Turkish parents as well as among respondents from other VOC countries, except for Germany and the United States (Kagitçibasi, 1982a, 1982b). Parents and adult children live near one another and see one another frequently (Olson, 1982; Duben, 1982). Even in middle class urban settings, family households are more likely than those in the West to include at least one grandparent or other elderly relative. A study of such three-generation households (Sunar, 1988) showed that over 60 percent of the elderly relatives were financially self-sufficient, while over 75 percent were in sound physical health; that is, they were not residing with their adult children because of financial need or need for physical care. Research from other collectivist societies (such as those in East Asia) also points to the continuation of closely knit family culture in the face of economic development (see Kagitçibasi, 1990, for a review).

This communalistic family culture is the context for sex-role socialization, and explains some of the differences between perceived sex-role characteristics in Turkey and those that are typically observed in the West. The obedience, dependence, loyalty, and sensitivity to others that are needed for the smooth operation of a closely interdependent family group are taught to male and female children alike. Thus, as mentioned briefly above, both sons and daughters learn certain "expressive" qualities that are perceived as "feminine" in Western culture.

On the other hand, while the family is closely knit in both material and emotional terms, there is a clear authority structure in which adults have authority over children and males have authority over females. Within this authority structure, traits such as obedience and respect for authority are highly encouraged, so that it can be said that the socialization of these traits is "overdetermined." However, while daughters receive a double dose of pressure to remain dependent and compliant, sons must be prepared to fulfill their dominant roles in later life. Thus, compared to girls, boys are trained to be dominant, active, and competent, leading to the emergence of the differences in socialization practices found by Basaran (1974), as well as to the sex-role stereotypes found by Gürbüz (1985) and Sunar (1982).

Children begin to learn parental roles early, first through observation, then through direct imitation, and later through enactment of these roles in imaginative play. It seems likely that the processes of learning are similar across cultures; what varies is the content of the roles. In traditional Turkish society, the roles of father and mother are, like sex roles in general, highly differentiated.

While close emotional ties among all family members are fostered, there appears to be greater intimacy between mothers and children than between fathers and children. That is, the father tends to play the role of the relatively distant authority whose main duty is to establish and enforce strict rules of conduct for the children (see, e.g., Sever, 1985). Physical care of children (feeding, dressing, etc.) is considered women's work, and fathers generally do not perform such tasks.

Many fathers are affectionate and playful with their infants and small children, but as the children grow, themes of authority and respect begin to dominate the relationship. Open displays of anger, either towards the father or other authority figures, such as teachers, are not tolerated (Sever, 1985). By the time a child reaches adolescence, there is usually considerable distance from the father, at least in terms of communication.

Mothers, on the other hand, spend most of their time with their young children, and are intimately involved in every detail of their physical care. As the children grow older, the mother is likely to assume an intermediary role, acting as a go-between for the father and children (cf. Kiray, 1976). If the child confides in a parent, it will probably be the mother, and it is she who will intercede with the father on behalf of the child in case of trouble. Likewise, it is the mother who will relay the demands, wishes, and even punishments of the father to the children. Mothers frequently express their affection openly, either through physical means like hugging and kissing the child, or verbally, and they encourage the child to reciprocate (Kagitçibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). Although children are not encouraged to express anger toward their mothers, such expression is not as rigidly forbidden as in the case of fathers. Recent research shows that, at least among urban youth, adolescent children are much more likely to report feeling emotionally close to their mothers than to their fathers (Sever, 1985; Sunar, forthcoming), and that they are more likely to communicate with their mothers than with their fathers (Hortaçsu, 1989).

This isolation of the father is only relative, however; a number of studies show that, compared with Western family patterns, Turkish families are less articulated in terms of the personal boundaries of each individual family member (Fisek, 1982; Levi, 1986). These studies suggest that a level of intimacy and interdependence that would be perceived in some other societies as "enmeshment," to use the terminology of family systems theory (Minuchin, 1974), is the norm among Turkish families. A similar pattern of closely knit interpersonal relations is found in other collectivistic societies with a "culture of relatedness" (see Kagitçibasi, 1985, 1990). While there is marked differentiation with regard to authority and sex-typed behaviors, then, interpersonal boundaries are relatively undifferentiated with regard to parental or other family roles (Fisek, 1991).

The roles of husband and wife are quite sharply distinct; the content of these roles draws, to a large extent, on the more general male and female sex roles, including the traditional sex-based division of labor. However, the relationship between husband and wife also involves the dimensions of authority and decision making.

In the traditional Turkish family, the husband is the ultimate authority, and he is normatively entitled to make all decisions of consequence for the family. In traditional groups, a wife's duty is to obey her husband. The authority of the husband is strongly rooted in the problem of *namus* (honor), which has been discussed briefly. Since a husband's honor is dependent on the chaste behavior of his wife, he must have the authority to control her behavior.

Obviously, modernization, mobility, mass education, and other factors have reduced the traditional force of these and related norms, so that, particularly in towns and cities, wives have more freedom and are more involved in decision making within the family than this description might suggest. Nevertheless, research shows that both men and women report that important decisions are usually made by the husband, rarely made by the wife, and only sometimes made jointly (Kagitçibasi, 1982a).

Thus the model of spousal roles to which children are exposed is typically one of clear-cut sex-role differentiation and of authority hierarchy as well.

AUTHORITY RELATIONS

The foregoing portrays the Turkish family as patriarchal and hierarchical in character, and virtually all other observers appear to agree with this characterization (e.g., Geçtan, 1973; Eksi, 1982). The chain of command in the nuclear family with preadolescent children is from father to mother to children; an adult son, however, may supersede the mother in more traditional families. As pointed out above, this family setting socializes the child from an early age into an attitude of respect for authority. Children are expected to show respect for their elders through a number of deferential practices. A parent's decision is not to be questioned; "talking back" is considered highly objectionable behavior (Kagitçibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). Adult children are expected to continue to show deference and respect for the parents, particularly the father. Even well into adulthood, children are expected to consult their parents before making decisions.

The socialization practices which produce the deferential, loyal, compliant family member rely on the maintenance of external control over the person. The child is expected and encouraged to obey the parent. Adult relatives and other members of the community also expect respect and obedience. These expectations of obedience and dependence from the child, constant surveillance by adults in the family and community, and expectations of loyalty and support from grown-up offspring weigh heavily on the growing person. As is commonly observed in collectivistic cultures, group (family) loyalties are often more important than an individualistic conception of self-interest.

While, as noted above, the Turkish family is characterized by a great deal of emotional closeness, and provides support for its members, it is also characterized by control and discipline. An early study (Kagitçibasi, 1970) compared a sample of Turkish adolescents with a similar sample of American adolescents, and found that, although there was no difference between the groups in perceived family affection, the Turkish group perceived a higher level of family control.

It is important to note here that control in childrearing is the norm in Turkey and is therefore not perceived by the child as rejection, thus no difference is found between these two groups in perceived family affection in spite of differences in family control. Similar findings are also reported for Korean and Japanese adolescents (Rohner & Pettengil, 1985; Trommsdorff, 1985) who perceive the controlling discipline of their parents as acceptance, not rejection, since such parental behavior is considered normal and caring. However, in sociocultural contexts where such parental control is not common, as in the United States, it can be perceived as a lack of love by adolescents. Thus, Pettengil and Rohner (1985) found Korean-American adolescents interpreting parental control as parental rejection, unlike Korean adolescents in Korea and like American adolescents. Such cross-cultural comparisons help put into perspective authority relations within the family.

In their study of Turkish preschool children and their families in low socioeconomic status groups, Kagitçibasi, Sunar, and Bekman (1988) found that the most commonly used form of discipline is physical punishment or other types of "power assertion" (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967), while shaming is the next most frequently used technique, and reasoning or induction (making the child aware of the consequences of his actions for others) is seldom seen (see Kagitçibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). Hoffman (1970), in a meta-analysis of studies of disciplinary practices, found strong evidence that inductive techniques are associated with greater internal control, while power-assertive techniques tend to result in weak internal control and reliance on external control. The forms of discipline preferred in the traditional Turkish culture, then, contribute to the formation of the desired character type (cf. Erikson, 1950).

Strict external control is found in the schools as well as in the home, providing a continuity and homogeneity in the socialization of children and youth. The system is a self-reinforcing one, in that children, by the time they reach school age, expect and respond best to the type of discipline to which they have become accustomed. In any case, teachers tend to use techniques of strict control in the classroom; however, if they attempt to use other techniques the result may be classroom chaos. Thus the exercise of and orientation to external control first encountered in the family are also perpetuated in the schools.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have tried to portray family and socialization in Turkey, focusing on sex-role socialization and parent–child interaction. Rather than aiming at comprehensiveness, we have chosen to be selective in our coverage, our choices dictated by our own interests on the one hand, and by the available research on the other. We have described characteristics that have been shown by research to be typical of the traditional (rural) Turkish family. Nevertheless, we have also drawn attention to commonalities with other similar family patterns from societies with closely knit communal orientations. The reader may find other similarities with the descriptions given in other chapters in this book. Such similarities, as well as differences, are of theoretical importance in understanding family and socialization within cultural and cross-cultural context (Kagitçibasi, 1990).

Descriptive accounts like this one can convey an impression of stability. This impression is, of course, far from accurate, as we have stressed at several points. Turkish society, like any other society, and especially like those in other developing countries, is undergoing rapid social change. Significant changes are also taking place within the family over time, and much diversity and heterogeneity exists across different social strata. Urban–rural differences and variations in terms of socioeconomic development levels are especially noticeable. We have, nevertheless, hazarded the risky task of generalization, although staying, for the most part, within the traditional family.

We have pictured the Turkish family as closely knit and interdependent on the one hand, and hierarchical on the other. Generational and gender relations form basic aspects of this picture. Both of these dimensions have been shown to be important in characterizing the Turkish family. Socialization in this family context prepares children to learn relational orientations and social skills to function effectively in closely knit interpersonal relations where power and authority differences are clear-cut. Thus a family culture of relatedness seems to continue in the face of social change. Nevertheless, much diversity and change is also seen. It may be concluded that the dynamic coexistence of continuity and change is the most important current characteristic of the Turkish family and society.

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6

Moral Socialization of the Child in the Soviet Union from Birth to Age Seven

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INTRODUCTION

The ethnic structure of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1989 population 286.7 million) includes more than 100 ethnic groups varying in language, culture, and mode of life (*Big Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1977). Prerevolutionary Russia contained hundreds of traditions, and numerous scholars have described the differing educational practices that existed among the peoples that comprised the Russian empire (e.g., Pokrovsky, 1884). Some of these traditions have been preserved and continue to influence contemporary childrearing practices. Needless to say, childhood socialization practices vary widely in the different regions of the country.

Despite these differing traditions, for the last half-century a particular style of childrearing has been developed in the USSR. Although this style is not followed consistently at all times nor in all regions of the country, it is an attempt to unite all regions of the country on a social-normative level. School-educated residents of industrial cities, a cross-section of the populace that includes workers and other employees as well as members of the intelligentsia, are most likely to employ this childrearing style. This segment of the population has become increasingly representative of Soviet society as urban residency has become increasingly common in the USSR. Indeed, urban residents currently comprise 66 percent of the total population in the USSR (*Izvestiya*, 1989).

Patterns of Family Structure in the USSR

Family structure exhibits diverse and varied patterns in the USSR. These patterns include nuclear families, families with single children (a pattern comprising one-third of families in the USSR), and increasing instances of full-time maternal employment. Maternal employment is considered to exert a positive influence on children's education within the family because working mothers, as a result of their collective public interests, have "more facilities for thorough childrearing and child development" (Garbuzova, 1981, p. 133).

Contemporaneously, the number of divorces in the USSR has increased to 929,600 in 1982, a rate that is 4.5 times higher than the rate in 1940. This trend is especially prominent in the large cities of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Ukraine, and Belorussia (Sysenko, 1982). Among the primary reasons given for divorce are drinking and alcoholism among husbands. Indeed, 62.6 percent of all divorces and 59.5 percent of divorces among workers cite alcohol-related problems as the reason for divorce (Sysenko, 1982). This disintegration of the family appears to weaken the effects of socialization. Data indicate that transgressions of the law are two to three times higher among young Soviet teenagers from incomplete families than among children from intact, two-parent families (Mynkovsky, 1982). An incomplete family complicates the normal social identification process because preschool children normally identify with the same-sex parent (Zaharov, 1982).

Soviet Views of Social Development

In the Soviet social development literature, socialization is defined as the process that guarantees (a) the substitution of socially inappropriate by socially appropriate behaviors, and (b) the development of the skills necessary for enacting social roles and behaviors (Gilinsky, 1971). Through socialization the individual internalizes societal norms, signs, and values (Lebedev, 1971; Spiridonov, 1971). In the USSR, socialization agents include the family, preschool institutes, ordinary and polytechnical schools, and political, public, and industrial organizations. The major goals of early socialization in the USSR are language acquisition, the development of movement skills, the acquisition of basic knowledge and early labor skills, and the internalization of acceptable social norms and behavioral roles (Gilinsky, 1971; Lebedev, 1971).

Under socialism, the role of the State in the socialization process is stressed, an emphasis proposed to lead to the growth of "social homogeneity" of the Soviet peoples (Lebedev, 1971; Spiridonov, 1971). Pre-World War II theories held that the role of the traditional family as the crucible of socialization would die away and be replaced by the State-rearing of children without family participation (e.g., Subsovitch, 1929; Volfson, 1937). However, despite the continuing emphasis on the role of the State in childhood socialization, this prewar view has been replaced with an increasing emphasis on the importance of the family in early socialization (Garbuzova, 1981; Grebennikov, 1982, 1987).

The socialization process is described as encompassing three periods: preworking (from birth to the end of the educational period), working, and the postworking periods. The preworking period usually is divided into two stages. The focus of this chapter is on the first of these stages, the stage of early

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socialization (from birth to school entrance at approximately 6–7 years of age). During this stage, the primary socialization agencies are the family and the kindergarten (or special institutes for orphans). Although children may enter kindergarten as early as their first year and generally leave by age 7, educational reforms in the 1980s allow a child to enter school at age 6.

Contemporary formulations of the function of the family in childhood socialization in the USSR have stressed factors that went unemphasized in earlier formulations. Among the most important roles the family plays in children's socialization are satisfaction of basic social needs (Garbuzova, 1981). For example, a necessary precondition of normal psychological development is satisfaction of the child's "communicative need" (Bozhovitch, 1968; Lisina, 1986). A second basic social need is the "need to be loved" (Garbuzova, 1981; Suhomlinsky, 1973). Moreover, optimal socialization in the context of the family requires an equal participation of both parents in childrearing (Garbuzova, 1981; Harchev, 1979). It has been shown, for example, that 60 percent of Soviet children who are successful in school are from families in which both parents participate in childrearing. Among weak pupils, in contrast, 70 percent are from families in which the educative role is fulfilled primarily by the mother (Grebennikov, 1982).

One aspect of the socialization process that largely has been overlooked by Soviet sociologists and psychologists is the process of moral socialization. In many soviet guides to socialization the topic of moral development is either unmentioned or is ranked in importance behind the development of intellectual and professional skills. Even at the normative level, descriptions of children's early moral socialization and development often are vague or incomplete.

A good example of such descriptions and their implementation is the *Program of Education in the Kindergarten* issued for use in the RSFSR (Moscow, 1972, 1978) and, in the main, incorporated in or adopted by comparable programs in other Soviet Republics (e.g., the Ukraine in 1971; Belorussia in 1977; Uzbekistan in 1973; and Tadzhik in 1973). This program elaborately describes goals and methods of physical, intellectual, and aesthetic education for preschoolers. In contrast, in the area of moral education the program recommends encouraging feelings of "love for native city or village and Homeland, and respect for V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party of the USSR," and encouraging children's development of "moral habits, responsibility in doing their duties, self-organization, the ability to play and work jointly, and a sense of fairness in self-estimation and the estimation of other people's actions." The recommended methods for encouraging moral development include explanations of the "moral sense" of various actions to the child, positive examples of moral behavior by educators, reading "moral context" stories and tales, and the special organization of children's lives to give them chances to practice moral acts. Needless to say, concrete instructions for ways to achieve these moral socialization goals are absent. The same is true of guides for socialization within the family context. These absences encouraged us to undertake the study of children's moral socialization from birth to age 7.

RESEARCH ON SOVIET CHILDREN'S MORAL SOCIALIZATION: MORAL JUDGMENT AND MORAL CONDUCT

The phenomenon of moral behavior is complex. Thus, in studying moral development the first task is to distinguish the main structural components of moral behavior. Our first distinction is between the *form* and *content* of a moral act. With regard to form, a moral act may take place either as a *verbal* or an *actual* behavior. The term *verbal behavior* will be used to mean subjects' abstract, intellectualized judgments about how they would or should behave in an imaginary situation involving a *moral conflict*. Within our formulation, moral conflicts require a choice between an egoistic act and an altruistic act or an act for the good of others. We use the term *actual behavior* to refer to acts that take place in situations containing an actual moral conflict in which subjects are personally involved. The content of moral acts also can be distinguished. We distinguish between *pragmatic* and *nonpragmatic* (unselfish) moral acts. A pragmatic moral act is a behavior that is carried out in accordance with a moral norm and is guided by a social incentive or by the fear of punishment for diverging from moral norms. In contrast, nonpragmatic (unselfish) acts are not motivated by external controls exerted by other people. Rather, nonpragmatic acts are those that reflect subjects' preservation of their own moral self-esteem or principles.

Study 1: Verbal Versus Actual Moral Behavior

In order to compare verbal and actual moral behaviors experimentally, we created moral conflict situations that were identical in structure but different in form.

In our verbal behavior situation (first experimental condition) children heard a story about a boy who was instructed by an adult to transfer ping pong balls from a pail into a jar using a special shovel and without touching the balls with his hands. The boy was told that if he successfully completed the task following this rule he would receive a reward. The adult then left the room to allow the boy to work on the task unsupervised. Unable to cope with the task, the boy took advantage of the adult's absence to transfer the balls by hand. Thus, as a result of his duplicity, he received the reward promised him for performing the task correctly (Subbotsky, 1983a, 1983b). Participants were asked to judge the boy's action and to tell how they would behave in the boy's place.

Two experimental conditions were used to study children's actual moral behavior. In the second condition, children were placed in a situation analogous to that of the boy in the story. They were asked to transfer balls with the shovel and were promised a reward for successfully completing the task while following the rules about using the shovel and not their hands. The adult left the room and surreptitiously observed the children's actual moral behavior. Of interest in this condition was whether or not children obeyed the rule, using only the special shovel and not their hands in completing the task, and whether or not they lied to the experimenter about having followed that rule. Children who followed the rule and did not lie were categorized as behaving morally. Children who violated the rule in the absence of the experimenter and lied about their noncompliance were categorized as behaving immorally.

The aim of the third experimental condition was to free the child subject from any possible fear of punishment for committing an infraction or for cheating by removing the appearance of social control (i.e., the possibility of punishment) not only objectively, through the absence of the experimenter as in the second condition, but also subjectively through allowing the child to observe another child go unpunished after committing an immoral act. In the third condition, children who behaved morally in the second condition (i.e., who neither violated the rule nor lied) were asked to sit with another child who had broken the rules. The latter child was asked to perform the task and was, to all intents and purposes, the "active subject." The experimenter left the room for ten minutes, secretly observing the behavior of the active subject. Upon the experimenter's return, if the active subject maintained that she/he had not broken the rule about touching the balls (when in fact the rule had been broken), the experimenter "believed" the child, gave him or her the promised reward, and returned the child to the classroom. After observing the "active child" cheat on the task and still receive a reward, the target child was asked to perform the task alone as in the second condition. Of interest here was whether or not the child continued to behave morally in the absence of external constraints (nonpragmatic morality) or if the removal of the fear of punishment would lead to cheating behaviors indicative of the presence of only pragmatic (consequence-based) moral behavior.

A total of 596 children of mixed socioeconomic backgrounds participated in the experiment. All children were native Russian speakers and attended a kindergarten in Moscow. The younger group of children ranged in age from 3 years to 4 years, 11 months. The older group ranged in age from 5 years to 6 years, 11 months. The results are shown in Table 6.1.

In the first condition, almost all children behaved similarly. That is, they censured what the boy in the story had done, asserting both that cheating was naughty and that in a similar situation they would not have broken the rules and cheated an adult. In the second condition (actual behavior), significantly fewer children behaved morally. While some children at both ages attempted to transfer the balls with the shovel for the entire 10-minute period as instructed (i.e., without using their hands) or refused to attempt the task at all, the remaining

Table 6.1. Percentage of Children Who Performed a Moral Act*

Number of Children	Age Group	First Condition	Second Condition	Third Condition
324	Younger	92	64	19
272	Older	100	65	29

*Note: First condition: verbal moral behavior; Second condition: actual moral behavior; Third condition: actual moral behavior after observing immoral peer rewarded. Younger children: ages 3 to 4 years, 11 months; Older children: ages 5 years to 6 years, 11 months.

children (36% of the younger, 35% of the older children) transferred the balls by hand and lied to the experimenter about having complied with the rule. Age apparently had no effect on children's performance in this condition as the percentage of older and younger children who behaved immorally essentially was identical (see Table 6.1). Finally, in the third condition, focusing on nonpragmatic moral behavior, overall fewer than a third of the children behaved morally. In this instance, however, substantially more children from the older group, compared to the younger group, adhered to the moral norms (see Table 6.1).

These results indicate that the removal of social control between Conditions 2 and 3 significantly reduced the number of children who adhered to moral norms. Thus, these data reveal age differences in children's tendencies to engage in nonpragmatic moral behavior (Condition 3) but no differences in the rate at which children engage in pragmatic moral behavior (Condition 2) nor in the rates at which children of these ages engage in verbal moral behavior. The pattern of age differences in pragmatic versus nonpragmatic moral behavior are supportive of the distinctions we have made in this area. Similarly, the differences between the rates of moral behavior that emerged in Condition 1 (verbal moral behavior) versus in Conditions 2 and 3 (real moral behavior) support our distinctions in the forms in which moral behavior can occur.

Study 2: Peer and Adult External Control as a Factor in Pragmatic Moral Behavior

Children's pragmatic (rule- or consequence-guided) moral conduct heavily depends on external controls. It is, therefore, of considerable importance to examine two influential sources of external control: peers and adults. In order to study these influences, we assessed children's pragmatic moral behavior using the experimental task described above in the presence of either a peer who was reading a book (Condition 1) or an experimenter who was "filling out protocols" (Condition 2). In both instances, children were asked to transfer ping pong balls using the special shovel without touching the balls in order to obtain a reward. Seventy-five children ranging in age from 3 to 7 years old participated as subjects. Results from this study may be seen in Table 6.2

Table 6.2. Percentage of Children Who Transgressed in a Moral Conflict Situation

Age in Years Number of Children	Peer Control (Experiment 1)			Adult Control (Experiment 2)
	Method: Try to distract peer's attention	Try to come to an agreement with the peer	Do not pay attention to the peer	
3–4 (21)	5	5	76	20
4–5 (26)	15	54	11	4
5–6 (18)	5	34	22	0
6–7 (10)	0	30	10	0

It is apparent from the data in Table 6.2 that the number of children who violated the moral rule in the presence of a peer decreased significantly ($p < .05$) among 5-year-olds as compared to 3- and 4-year-olds. Moreover, the percentage of children who ignored the peer-controller decreased sharply among 4-year-olds relative to their 3-year-old peers. Four-year-olds were more likely to try to distract the peer's attention or come to an agreement with the peer than were the younger children. Finally, the number of transgressions committed by children in the presence of a peer far exceeds the number of children transgressing in the presence of an adult regardless of the age of the child.

The patterns of results emerging from this study illustrate age-related changes in the relative influences of peers and adults on children's pragmatic moral behavior. First, it is clear that the most effective factor for restraining moral transgression at all of the ages studied is the presence of an adult. Children of all ages were more likely to engage in pragmatic moral behavior in the presence of an adult than in the presence of a peer. Peer presence fails to influence the pragmatic moral behavior of the 3-year-olds in our study but begins to have a significant impact on the rate of moral transgressions by the age of four. Finally, older children appear less likely to commit a moral transgression in the presence of either a peer or an adult than are younger children. Such differences illustrate an age-related progression in the influence of peers on children's pragmatic moral behavior.

Study 3: Concepts of Significant Adults About the Age of Moral Responsibility

The experiments presented above led to our conclusion that a significant adult's control is an important factor in children's moral socialization. However, the age at which adults perceive children as being subject to external control and the ages at which children have responsibility for their actions may vary among cultures. There is no doubt in our minds that the stereotypical conceptions that parents, as representatives of their larger culture, have about the development of children's consciences and their abilities to adhere to moral rules will influence strongly the responses parents make to their children's moral transgressions. Therefore, we undertook another study to determine (a) the ages at which Soviet parents consider their children to be capable of adhering to moral norms and obligations, and (b) the ages at which children are thought to be responsible for controlling the moral behavior of younger siblings.

In order to study parental conceptions of their children's moral abilities a special questionnaire was constructed (Subbotskii, 1983b). This questionnaire contained six stories about children and their behavior in various moral conflict situations. In the first three stories the situations were ones that involved moral transgressions typical for young children. For example, one story described a situation in which a child violated a rule about touching objects on the parent's desk. While the parent was absent, the child climbed on a chair and began to play with items on the desk, tearing papers and breaking the inkwell. The second set of three stories described situations in which an elder sibling fails to intervene when a younger sibling engaged in a moral transgression. For both sets of stories, participants responded to two questions. First, they were asked if they considered their child guilty of a moral transgression and second they were asked if they would punish the child for the misbehavior (or the elder sibling for failing to intervene). In each case, participants were asked to indicate how they would respond to the behavior of children ranging in age from 6 months to 7 years old. A total of 110 parents of 5- to 7-year-old children completed the questionnaire. The parents were from a variety of ethnic groups and socioeconomic classes although all were residing in Moscow. The responses of parents to these questions may be seen in Tables 6.3 and 6.4.

The results indicated that parents had different expectations for children to monitor their own and a younger sibling's moral behavior. It is apparent that by 2 years of age, parents perceive children as being responsible for their own moral transgressions and the majority report that they would punish the child for such

Table 6.3. Percentage of Parents Giving Confirmative Answers (Stories 1–3)

		Supposed Age of Child							
Question	Story	Months		Years					
		6	10	1	1.5	2	3	5	7
1	1	6		27		68	91	98	100
	2		28	46		78	93	100	100
	3				44	68	90	98	98
2	1	3		7		33	60	79	87
	2		14	30		56	75	92	93
	3				35	57	84	93	95

Table 6.4. Percentage of Parents Giving Confirmative Answers (Stories 4–6)

		Supposed Age of Elder Sibling in Years				
Question	Story	1.5	2	3	5	7
1	4	20	31	66	91	98
	5	14	28	61	87	93
	6			71	90	95
2	4	13	20	42	70	80
	5	10	20	35	70	80
	6			52	74	83

transgressions. Soviet parents apparently do not regard children younger than 2 years old as being conscious of, or at least responsible for, their moral transgressions as comparatively few report that children that young should be punished. With regard to serving as a moral controller for a younger sibling, Soviet parents begin to expect that children will exert some influence on younger siblings when children reach 3 years of age and the vast majority expected that older siblings would exert a strong influence on younger siblings' behavior by the time the former group had achieved the age of five. Thus, Soviet parents appear to expect that their children are responsible for their own and others' moral behavior by the time their children are of kindergarten ages. These expectations should influence strongly both parental responses to their children's immoral behavior and the type of moral behavior (pragmatic and nonpragmatic) observed in children of different ages.

Study 4: The Influence of Parental Attitudes Towards Childrearing on Moral Socialization

The studies we have presented have shown that two types of moral behavior (pragmatic and nonpragmatic) appear in Soviet preschoolers. Data from other studies also show that the type of morality formed is dependent on the "style of social interaction" practiced by adults (Subbotsky, 1983a, 1983b, 1987). We use the phrase "style of social interaction" to refer to the manner in which give-and-take in social interaction unfolds. A *pragmatic style of social interaction* (PSI) is one based on the principle of reciprocity (e.g., "good for good, evil for evil"). An *altruistic style of social interaction* (ASI) is a social interaction in which one (unilateral ASI) or both (bilateral ASI) parties in an interactive dyad display unselfish behavior by voluntarily forgoing their own advantge for the good of their partner.

Our formulation is that pragmatic parenting styles, in which, for example, rewards and punishments may be administered for particular behaviors, should promote the development of pragmatic morality. In contrast, the altruistic parenting styles, for example, the forgiving of some mischiefs or an unconditional love for a child, should facilitate the development of nonpragmatic morality. These speculations give rise to two questions regarding parenting style and moral development in children. First, what parenting styles are preferred by Soviet parents of preschoolers and young elementary school-aged children? Second, how do different parenting styles influence the development of pragmatic and nonpragmatic morality?

In order to assess these questions, we employed Varga's (1986) 5-factor, nondirective questionnaire.[1] Parents read and responded to 111 statements about children and ways of responding to children's behavior in a variety of situations. Varga's questionnaire diferentiates between four different types of parental attitudes towards children.[2]

The first style of parental attitude is labeled *Authoritarian-Rejecting*. This style is characteristic of parents who apply for help to family consulting offices. Parents treat their children coldly and perceive them as naughty, nonadaptive, and possessing characteristics typical of younger children (i.e., infantile values and passions are attributed to the child). This parental attitude is internally contradictory. The parents evaluate their children's abilities critically and do not believe in those capacities that are present. These parents also demand that their children achieve success in life while simultaneously punishing them severely for failure.

The second style of parental attitude is labeled *Subjectively-Favorable*. This style of parental attitude is emotionally positive and parents exhibiting this style appear to have few difficulties in childrearing. The parents are aware of their child's individual characteristics, share the child's passions, and treat the child warmly. The child's rights are respected and autonomy is granted to the child. Nevertheless, reasonable demands are placed on children of subjectively favorable parents. Such children are encouraged to develop internal controls for educational, sports, musical activities, and so on. While rewards and punishments are used, they do not exceed prescribed limits.

The third style of parental attitude is labeled *Symbiotic*. Children whose parents exhibit this style are loved and emotionally accepted as family members. However, symbiotic parents often appear eager to "merge" with their children emotionally and strive to protect children from the difficulties of life. Few demands for achievement are made of the child for activities outside the family. On the whole, the child is treated as some kind of "admired property" and is mildly, if ever, punished.

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[1] The author thanks I. V. Kladovschikova for help in carrying out this study.

[2] *Editors' Note.* The styles of childrearing described below will appear familiar to readers acquainted with research on styles of childrearing conducted in the United States (see Chapter 7). Varga's authoritarian-rejecting style appears similar to Baumrind's authoritarian style, the subjectively -favorable style is paralleled by Baumrind's authoritative style, and the symbiotic style appears similar to Baumrind's permissive parenting style. Varga's fourth parenting style (authoritarian-symbiotic) appears to differ from the authoritarian-rejecting group along the dimension of parental warmth. We have retained Subbotsky's use of Varga's classifications of parenting styles throughout this chapter rather than substituting what might be, to some readers, more familiar terminology.

The fourth style of parental attitude is labeled *Authoritarian-Symbiotic*. Parents exhibiting this style accept their children and treat them warmly. The parents empathize with the child while demanding achievement in extra-familial activities. Psychological means (such as provoking anxiety or guilt) are used to control children's thoughts or deeds.

In order to study relationships between attitudes towards parenting style and children's moral development a total of 54 4- to 6-year-olds (27 boys, 27 girls) and their parents participated. These children were selected from the larger sample of children participating in our study of children's actual moral behavior using criteria described below. The participants were a composite of ethnicities and socioeconomic classes. All participants were Muscovites.

Children, and by extension their parents, were selected for participation in this study based on the children's actual moral behavior in the first study presented in this chapter. Children defined as *pragmatic moralists* were those who maintained that a child should not cheat on the ball-moving task when asked about a hypothetical child but did in fact cheat when they performed the task. Children classified as *nonpragmatic moralists* were those who did not cheat on the ball-moving task in the experiment. Parents of these two groups of children completed the Varga questionnaire and were classified into one of the four attitude towards parenting style groups.

All four groups of attitudes towards parenting style were represented in the sample of parents completing the questionnaire. The Authoritarian-Symbiotic style (35.2% of the sample) was the most common, followed by the Authoritarian-Rejecting and Subjectively-Favorable styles of attitudes towards parenting (both 22.2% of the sample). The Symbiotic style was the least common, although 20.4 percent of the parents were classified as having this style.

In order to examine relationships between parental attitudes towards childrearing and children's moral behavior we compared the distributions across parenting styles of children whose behavior in the moral situations was purely pragmatic with the distributions across parenting styles of children exhibiting a nonpragmatic moral orientation. We predicted that children who engaged in purely pragmatic moral behavior would be more likely to have parents who exhibited an Authoritarian-Rejecting or Authoritarian-Symbiotic attitude toward childrearing. This relationship was expected to emerge because of the heavy emphasis on punishment and reward (either real or psychological) exhibited in the attitudes of such parents. In contrast, children from both Subjectively-Favorable and Symbiotic families were expected to be found primarily in the nonpragmatic group as a result of their parents' tendencies to employ parenting techniques that encourage internalization of moral standards.

As can be seen in Table 6.5, our results supported the majority of our

Table 6.5. Number of Pragmatic versus Nonpragmatic Children in Families with a Particular Parental Attitude Type

Parental Attitude Type	Type of Child Behavior	
	Pragmatic	Nonpragmatic
1. Authoritarian-Rejecting	9	3
2. Subjectively-Favorable	3	9
3. Symbiotic	3	8
4. Authoritarian-Symbiotic	9	10
Totals	24	30

hypotheses. Children from Authoritarian-Rejecting families were significantly ($p < .05$) more likely to be classified as pragmatically than nonpragmatically moral. Moreover, the majority of pragmatically moral children came from families in which the parenting style was classified as either Authoritarian-Rejecting or Authoritarian-Symbiotic. In contrast, nonpragmatic children were more likely to be from Subjectively-Favorable or Symbiotic families. Interestingly, children from Authoritarian-Symbiotic parents appeared equally likely to be classified as pragmatic or nonpragmatic in their moral behavior. This result may reflect the fact that Authoritarian-Symbiotic parents are strict in their enforcement of moral behavior but instill internalized (psychological) controls over their children's behavior.

The data were in accordance with our predictions regarding relationships between style of social interaction (as exemplified in parental attitudes towards childrearing) and the development of moral behavior. It appears evident that the Authoritarian-Rejecting parenting style is based largely on behaviors encompassed by the pragmatic social interaction (PSI) style. In contrast, the Subjectively-Favorable and Symbiotic parenting styles appear best captured by the altruistic social interaction (ASI) style. These differences may explain the differential distribution of moral pragmatic and nonpragmatic children among these three parental attitude groups. The Authoritarian-Symbiotic parenting style probably includes elements of both the ASI and PSI styles, a factor that may account for the fact that children from families exhibiting this style of parenting were equally distributed among pragmatic and nonpragmatic moralists. This parenting style may promote either a pragmatic or a nonpragmatic moral development.

STAGES OF MORAL SOCIALIZATION OF PRESCHOOLERS IN THE USSR: A GENERAL MODEL

Our examination of the empirical findings on moral development available in the Soviet literature (e.g., Abramenkova, 1983; Amosova, 1970; Bogdanova, 1973; Bozhovitch, 1968; Jakobson & Pochervina, 1983) and the data we have gathered reveal a complex pattern of the ways that preschool children are socialized to engage in moral behavior. Although we do not wish to be held to a strict chronological sequence, we may distinguish between three basic stages in the development of morality among children in the Soviet Union.

During the first stage of moral development (from birth to 2 or 2.5 years) children have not yet been drawn into the domain of normative moral behavior to any significant degree. Their motivations to behave morally are purely pragmatic (i.e., egocentric). Primary, basic motives (e.g., vital physiological needs, the need for socioemotional contact with adults, etc.) lay the groundwork for the basic forms that activities of children of these ages encompass. It is through these activities that children assimilate the fundamental structures of social experience: the rhythms and forms of movement, speech, actions with objects, sensory standards of perception, the elementary forms of thought, and so forth. The assimilation of these fundamentl tasks gives structure to children's activities. Their behavior, initially diffuse and disorganized, is transformed into a sequence of programmed actions. The structuring of the operational and technical aspects of activities, on the other hand, also is reflected in the motivation underlying the activity as the act of choice implies a coordination of motives. Motivations, which at first are immediate and homogenous, are broken up into discrete elements that subsequently take on hierarchical forms.

The first stage of moral (and mental) socialization is encapsulated in the emergence of two levels (forms) of "life practice" in the child. These levels have been designated as verbal and actual behavior. The operational-technical and motivational aspects of behavior at the verbal level in its fully developed state are such that children's accomplishment of tasks at this level are orienting or abstract-alienated (intellectual) in nature. That is, verbal behavior can occur without impinging on the vital basic needs of the child and at a minimal risk of pragmatic (consequence-based) loss. Technically, verbal tasks may be carried out at this level in the form of linguistic statements, contingent play, figurative activity, imaginative fantasies, and so forth. In reality, only some of these forms of behavior (e.g., verbal and gestural speech, elementary forms of imaginary play) may appear at this stage of development. However, the children are capable of performing behaviors at the verbal level that they are still incapable of performing at the actual level. These differences in abilities may reflect a lack of some operational or technical abilities necessary to engage in the actual behavior or may result from differences in the motivational structures underlying verbal and actual behavior.

The discordance or discrepancy that exists between verbal and actual behavior is the major feature of the second (transitional) stage of moral socialization. This stage begins around 2 years of age and lasts through the age of 4, a period that marks the end of infancy and the beginning of the preschool period. During this stage children assimilate moral-normative forms of behavior for the first time. These behaviors initially are learned and performed at the verbal and imaginative levels in the form of rudimentary notions of "good" and "bad" and "must" versus "must not." Some of these notions may exist at the cultural level in the form of discrete demands, duties, and socially appropriate behaviors. Others of these notions, however, may be incorporated in children's consciousness with the behavior of characters in stories or tales or with sociocultural symbols of normative and antinormative behavior (e.g., "Vasilisa Prekrasnaya," "Sniegurochka," and "Krasnaya Shapochka" versus "Yaga the Witch," "Kaschey Immortable," and "Grey Wolf"). Only later in development will these primitive conceptions be incorporated into conceptions of "ideal" behavior and its opposite (e.g., Jakobson & Pocherevina, 1983).

In the second stage of moral socialization, however, children adhere to moral norms only at the verbal level, most often in the form of statements, judgments, and play. Because these norms are socially approved, that is, reinforced by social controls, children have an important motive for observing them. Children's actual behavior, in contrast, requires a different motivational structure. At this stage of moral development, norms for actual moral behavior are not yet enforced by rigorous social control. Neither peers nor adults require categorically that children at this stage observe norms for actual moral behavior and actual behavior that is contrary to the norms does not lead to serious punishment for children at this stage. Actual moral behavior (i.e., adherence to the moral norm) requires self-limitation while immoral behavior may result in a pragmatic advantage. As a result, the behavior of children at this stage of development who are experiencing actual moral conflict often is contrary to the prevailing moral norm.

The third stage of moral socialization occurs during the middle and late preschool years (from approximately 4 to 7 years of age). The primary characteristic of this stage is the gradual elimination of the discordance between children's actual and verbal moral behavior. During this stage, positive moral norms come to predominate over behavior in both the actual and verbal realms. Underlying this concordance, however, are two distinctive processes: the pragmatic and nonpragmatic modes of behavior. As a result of these different processes, two relatively distinct lines of moral behavior emerge. These lines of moral behavior reflect differences between the two types or styles of social interaction and childrearing: the pragmatic and the altruistic styles.

Both observational and experimental studies have shown that the pragmatic and altruistic styles of peer–peer and parent–child social interaction coexist, sometimes competing with and other times complementing one another, often within the same family within this culture. With age, preschool children's actual moral behavior increasingly becomes subject to social control by both peers and adults. The forms such control takes may vary along a number of dimensions. Children's moral behavior may be encouraged directly through rewards or directly discouraged through punishment for immoral behavior. Other means of social control, such as verbal approval or censure, demonstration of moral behavior by a personal example, strengthening the pragmatic motivation for moral behavior by involving the child in diverse forms of play or work activities, and social encouragement of moral behavior by assigning the child to lead a group of children, also may influence children's performance of actual moral behavior less directly. While these external controls exert their influence on preschool children's actual moral behavior, internal controls begin to exert an influence at later stages of development.

Despite the apparent diversity in the structural features of these external controls on children's moral behavior, it is not difficult to uncover subtle differences in these controls (e.g., degree of mediation, temporal relationships between actions and consequences, nature of encouragements, etc.). As children move into the middle preschool period they become involved in a variety of forms of cooperative behavior with their peers and are subject to increasingly stringent external control over their moral behavior. We assume, however, that all of these forms of external control are merely different manifestations of the pragmatic style of social interaction, a style that results in an intensification of external pragmatic motives for moral behavior. One outcome of this intensified external control of children's behavior is that diverse forms of pragmatic moral-normative behavior emerge and are consolidated in the real-life behavior of children.

Our analysis has shown, however, that many types of interaction between children and the adults with whom they are close (particularly parents) may include elements of the altruistic style of social interaction. Such a style may be reflected most clearly in a situation in which a close adult unselfishly goes about meeting a child's inherited organic or social needs. Of fundamental importance in this situation is the fact that the meeting of these needs is unilateral and unconditional. In receiving gratification from an adult, the child is in no way normatively bound to reciprocate. In the experience of infants, toddlers, and preschoolers, the fact that they are barred from the domain of work also excludes them, to a considerable extent, from the domain of pragmatic relations. Children's activities are unimpeded by the necessity of meeting immediate material needs. It is important to recognize, however, that pragmatic and altruistic styles of social interaction rarely assume a "personal embodiment." Usually elements of both styles coexist within the interaction style of the same adult (parent, teacher, relative, etc.).

Developmentally, as a result of experiencing altruistic styles of social interaction, the idealized notions of morality that exist in children at the verbal level begin to become less alienated from children's self-image during the middle of the preschool period. Children begin to perceive (experience) these moral self-images as guides for both verbal and actual moral behavior. As a consequence of this fusion, both factors undergo qualitative change. In the first and second stages of moral development, altruistic styles of social interaction merely were experienced and were perceived by the child as a natural pattern in the overall scheme of the experienced universe. As a result, altruistic styles of interaction were never consciously delimited or assessed. In the third stage of moral development, altruistic styles of social interaction begin to assume a discrete form and are evaluated as "trusting" and "good" as such interactions have their source in the behavior of adults.

The result of this fusion of idealized- and self-moral images and children's recognition of altruistic social interactions as desirable is that the categories of good and evil, which previously existed only as abstract knowledge, now acquire an affective content. This reflexive investiture is not an act of will or reason on the part of the child. Rather, it is profoundly personal and emotional. The need that arises from this investiture to maintain congruity between the self and the idealized moral image is the need for positive moral self-esteem. The emergence of self-assessment in moral self-esteem gives rise, in turn, to the first forms of moral, nonpragmatic behavior in the child.

CONCLUSION

The moral socialization of preschool children in the USSR results, in fact, from the development of two fundamentally different processes: the formation of moral-pragmatic behavior and the development of unselfish moral behavior. The former process is rooted in an intensification of external control, a differentiation of external control and a differentiation of its forms, and a hierarchization of the pragmatic motives for normative moral behavior. The latter process is the result of an interaction between consciously assimilated norms and children's experiences of altruistic interactions with close adults.

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7

The Socialization of Instrumental Competence in Families in the United States

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The United States of America is a diverse and multifaceted nation. The majority of its 230 million residents are descended from persons who migrated to the United States either voluntarily (as was the case with the ancestors of much of the Anglo-European population) or involuntarily (as was the case with the ancestors of most African-Americans and a segment of the Asian-American population). A smaller proportion of the population is descended from persons who were subjugated during periods of colonization (e.g., Native Americans) or whose property and citizenship were determined via settlements during times of war (e.g., Mexican-Americans in the southwestern United States, Puerto Ricans, and American Samoans), or through the purchase of property from other nations (e.g., the Aleut population of Alaska). Although Americans of Anglo-European descent are losing their status as the majority population in the United States (less than 70% of the population is of Anglo-European descent), the absence of a single group of greater size determines the choice of the term majority group to distinguish this segment of the population (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; McKee, 1985). Under law in the United States, a citizen who is African-American, Hispanic, Native American, Alaskan native, or Pacific Islander is considered to be a member of a racial minority group (U.S. Code, Title 42, Section 7141[f]).

Although the United States is largely a nation of groups of immigrants each of which possesses a history of cultural traditions and mores, the stereotypical view of American cultural traditions largely reflects the Anglo-European background of the majority population. In this chapter we present a sketch of the patterns of racial and ethnic culture which provide the "invisible" diversity that operates in contemporary American society. In addition, we document the origins of biases that have influenced the assumptions about parent–child relationships that have influenced American researchers. Finally, we provide a perspective that facilitates a multicultural approach to research in a multicultural society.

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Although the majority of minority group members reside in urban areas (Harrison et al., 1990), concentrations of members of specific minority groups are found in different areas of the country. African-Americans form the single largest minority (approximately 14% of the total population) and reside largely in the southeastern United States, in urban centers in the northeastern (e.g., New York City) and midwestern (e.g., Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis) United States, and in California (McKee, 1985). Persons of Hispanic descent (approximately 9% of the total population) reside largely in the southwestern United States in areas formerly the possession of either the colonial Spanish empire (e.g., Texas, New Mexico, and California), in New York state, and in Florida. Asian-Americans (approximately 5% of the population) are concentrated largely in the states of Hawaii, California, and New York. More than half of the Native Americans (less than 1% of the total population) reside in the states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Washington. Of course, smaller concentrations of both racial minority and the majority Anglo-Europeans are found in all parts of the nation (McKee, 1985; Zelinsky, 1973). Nonetheless, distinct settlement patterns exist for both the racial minority groups and the various ethnic minorities (e.g., Eastern European, Southern European, etc.) that comprise the Anglo-European segment of the population.

Patterns of Immigration

With the possible exception of the Native American population, whose migration occurred in the prehistoric past, the vast majority of Americans are descended from persons who migrated to this country since the early part of the seventeenth century. Although the city of St. Augustine, Florida lays claim to being the "oldest city" in the North American continent (totally ignoring, for example, the thriving native metropolis of the area now known as Mexico City), the establishment of the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 marked the beginning of immigration to the United States. In addition to the British settlers of Jamestown, indentured servants and slaves of African descent also immigrated, albeit involuntarily. African slaves were brought to Jamestown as early as 1619 (McKee, 1985). The slave trade accounted for the largest percentage of growth in the African-American population through the end of the 18th century although importation of African slaves continued through the middle of the 19th century (Rose, 1985).

The earliest settlers in the United States were primarily of English, Welsh, Scottish, and German descent. Indeed, during the pre-Revolutionary War period (before 1776), these patterns of immigration mimicked the geopolitical structure of Europe: the first of the ''English'' kings of the Hanoverian line (George I; enthroned in 1714) was, in fact, a German. The fact that the British accounted for the largest percentage of the original immigrants to the United States (75% of the population in the first U.S. census in 1790; McKee, 1985) irrevocably influenced the dominant pattern of culture that developed. British culture and traditions provide the foundation for common law and the cultural patterns for contemporary ''mainstream'' American society.

Subsequent waves of immigration brought a greater variety of nationalities to the United States. During most of the nineteenth century (1821–1880), although immigrants continued to be primarily of northwestern European (British, Irish, French, and German) extraction, increasing numbers of persons from Canada, China, and the West Indies also arrived. At the end of this period (in 1875 and 1882), the first legislation governing immigration was passed. Prior to its enactment, immigration was unrestricted. The Immigration Acts of 1875 and 1872 merely restricted classes of individuals (such as prostitutes, epileptics, lunatics, and convicts) from immigrating rather than particular nationalities. However, a separate law (the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, repealed in 1943) was specifically enacted to limit the immigration of Chinese laborers. During the latter half of the 19th century and early part of the 20th century, large numbers of southern (e.g., Italians) and eastern (e.g., Russian) European immigrants joined the continuing stream of immigrants from northwestern Europe. This period was marked by the passage of increasingly restrictive immigration legislation that required, among other things, knowledge of English as a prerequisite of immigration (McKee, 1985; U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest, 1981). Immigration legislation in the 1930s and beyond strongly influenced the sources of migrants, the majority of whom were either of northwestern European extraction or Hispanic. Although recent reforms of the immigration laws have had some impact on patterns of immigration, the basic pattern that developed in the 18th century persists today.

Acculturation versus Pluralism versus Separatism

Historically, American society has been concerned with the acculturation of minority groups into the mainstream of society (McKee, 1985). This acculturation may take several forms. The first of these is Anglo-conformity (Gordon, 1964), a process through which the values and traditions of the culture of origin (including language) are abandoned in favor of the dominant Anglo-European, primarily British-influenced, culture. As we have seen, in the United States governmental forces, in the form of immigration laws, have favored such a process. Similarly, contemporary movements to make English the ''official'' or ''national'' language have at their roots a belief in the conformity of immigrants and non-English-speaking citizens to the existing values of the dominant culture (see Nobles, 1988; Sudarkasa, 1988). This mode of acculturation was often typical of non-British immigrants of European extraction, such as the Italians and eastern Europeans (McKee, 1985). A second means of acculturation is the idea of the cultural "melting pot," a descriptor frequently applied to American society. This means of acculturation implies that ethnic groups intermingle as they join the dominant culture, resulting in change in the existing culture. The process is similar to accommodation in Piagetian terms in which existing structures are modified as a result of the incorporation of new information. Unfortunately, within American society assimilation, rather than accommodation, appears to have been the norm as minority cultural values have often been lost under pressure from the dominant culture (McKee, 1985).

The third major form of acculturation is cultural pluralism. In this process, minority groups retain their cultural identities and traditions while participating in the dominant culture. While perhaps preferable to the Anglo-conformity mode of acculturation, cultural pluralism assumes that behaviors reflecting pluralism will be carried out under limited sets of circumstances with the dominant culture retaining its supremacy. The difficulty of true cultural pluralism is perhaps best exemplified in the continuing problems Canadian citizens face in integrating Franco-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian traditions, language, and culture. In the United States, cultural pluralism takes the form of tolerance for private cultural practices and the "ghettoization" (either geographically or socially) of cultures and cultural traditions that deviate from the dominant culture.

Separatism is the final means through which citizens differing in culture and/or traditions can "co-exist." Separatism implies a form of cultural, if not physical, apartheid in which groups may occupy nonoverlapping areas of the same social sphere. While some groups (such as the early Amish) have practiced separatism, this notion is not in keeping with (admittedly mainstream) American ideals. Thus, separatism is not a general practice within American society.

Although in theory the United States culture is a melting pot, in practice a modified form of cultural pluralism appears to operate in American society. As we shall illustrate, minority groups often retain aspects of their original cultures that influence patterns of interpersonal relationships as well as the values of the dominant culture. In addition, historical changes in "American" views of the family reflect developments that have been influenced by patterns of immigration and the absorption of non-British cultures (Mintz & Kellogg, 1988). Finally, an increasing appreciation for cultural pluralism and the strengths existing in subcultural value systems appears to be emerging among a growing number of American researchers. This appreciation has resulted in an emerging interest in the development of American children from diverse subcultures and the roles cultural diversity plays in children's development (e.g., Harrison et al., 1990; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; McLoyd, 1990).

PATTERNS OF FAMILY COMPOSITION

Regardless of ethnic origin or minority status, families in the United States today are in a state of change. Since the mid-1970s, increasing numbers of mothers have remained in, returned to, and joined the workforce. Divorce and single-parenting (usually by mothers) are becoming increasingly the norm (e.g., Eiduson, Kornfein, Zimmerman, & Weisner, 1982). Other nontraditional forms of families, such as lesbian mothers or gay fathers and their children, also are among the family structures observed in the United States (Bozett, 1985; Hanscombe & Forster, 1981). While the basic structure among Anglo-European families is a nuclear one, nontraditional forms of the nuclear family are becoming increasingly common (e.g., Eiduson et al., 1982; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Extended families appear to play a more important role among minority group members than is true for the majority culture in the United States. Sudarska (1988) links this contemporary extended family structure both to family structures in ancestral Africa and to the family structure that emerged in response to the enslavement of African-Americans. According to this analysis, consanguinal relationships are more important than conjugal relationships due to the instability of the latter form. The extended family, defined by consanguinity, provides continuing support to meet the needs of its members. Among African-Americans, for example, the extended family system allows for greater flexibility in addressing both tangible needs, such as financial support, and nontangible needs, such as emotional attachments (Harrison et al., 1990; Tolson & Wilson, 1990). The African-American family also provides an atmosphere in which personal and group identities are formed and in which African-American children can achieve affirmation of themselves as individuals while living in a larger, racist society (Pearson, Hunter, Ensminger, & Kellam, 1990; McLoyd, 1990). Nobles (e.g., 1988) has found that parent–child interactions in African-American families are characterized by an atmosphere that emphasizes strong family ties, respect for oneself and others, the assumed natural goodness of children, and childrearing techniques characterized by unconditional love. He proposes that this unconditional love is independent of styles of discipline.

Extended family patterns and a philosophy of familism also appear to typify the families of other minority groups. For example, Hispanic-American, Asian-American, and Native American families emphasize family loyalty and an interdependence of family members (Harrison et al., 1990). Differences emerge, however, along several dimensions of family structure and functioning. For example, Asian-American families tend to be more hierarchically structured than the families of other minority groups (Harrison et al., 1990). Interestingly, cultural distinctiveness does not necessarily disappear as minority groups become acculturated. For example, Lin and Fu (1990) found that the childrearing beliefs of immigrant Chinese-Americans were more similar to those of native Taiwanese than to those of Anglo-European Americans. Similarly, Gutierrez and her colleagues (Gutierrez & Sameroff, 1990; Gutierrez, Sameroff, & Karrer, 1988) offer evidence that acculturated middle-class Mexican-American mothers are more similar to native nonacculturated mothers in their childrearing beliefs than they are to Anglo-European mothers. As we shall see, different beliefs about childrearing may have similar effects on children's development within these cultural settings.

A number of other structural differences exist between the minority and majority cultures. For example, 55% of all African-American children are born to single mothers, and 60% of African-American children under age 3 and 44% of all Puerto Rican children live in families headed by single women (National Center for Health Statistics, 1982; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985). The family structural patterns discussed above, in particular the importance roles the extended family plays and, at least for African-Americans, both the important role played by resident grandmothers (Tolson & Wilson, 1990) and the relative unimportance attributed to conjugal relationships, may account for the persistence of these childbirth and childrearing patterns among these families. Members of minority groups also fall at the lowest ends of the socioeconomic strata. In 1985, the percentage of children classified as living in poverty was 43% for African-Americans, 40% for Hispanic-Americans, and 12% for Caucasians (Garcia Coll, 1990). Because race and socioeconomic status often have been confounded in studies of childrearing (e.g., Sameroff, 1987), it is often difficult to discriminate between differences due to cultural background and those due to socioeconomic status. As we shall see, both factors appear to influence styles of childrearing and socialization outcomes.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AMERICAN RESEARCH ON PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

Parent–child relationships and their influence on children's social development have been of concern to American developmental psychologists since the inception of the field (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). For example, James Mark Baldwin (1897) held that parent–child interactions were among the most important determinants of the development of self-concepts and morality. Nearly half a century later, Alfred L. Baldwin and his colleagues at the Fels Institute (e.g., Baldwin, 1948, 1949; Baldwin, Kalhorn, & Breese, 1945, 1949) observed parents and their children in their home environments in their attempts to identify affective factors operative in the parent–child relationship that maximized socialization outcomes. Concurrently, Robert Sears and his colleagues at Yale University, and later at Stanford University, were examining the roles that parent–child interactions played in children's socialization (e.g., Sears, 1951; Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957; Sears, Rau, & Alpert, 1965). In many respects, the questions raised by these investigators have provided the framework for investigating parent–child relationships for the past 40 years (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Sears, 1975). In addition, however, the type of subjects chosen for study by A. L. Baldwin, Sears, and their colleagues (e.g., Baldwin et al., 1945; Sears et al., 1957) remain typical of the types of subjects who form the predominant focus of research on parent–child relationships by North American psychologists today: middle-class, Anglo-Europeans.

The middle-class, Anglo-European family has been the basis of study among developmental psychologists since the inception of the field. Indeed, research on non-Anglo-European children was the rule until the mid-1960s (see McLoyd & Randolph, 1985, for examples of research on African-American children). A variety of pragmatic and nonpragmatic reasons may account for the minimal attention paid to minority children including ethnocentric biases on the part of researchers and research consumers and statistical concerns about homogeneity of samples. Unfortunately, the choice of homogeneous subject populations potentially limits the generalizability of research findings. This fact should be kept in mind in our review of patterns of childrearing practices. Although the concepts and patterns of findings we discuss perhaps have achieved the level of dogma as a result of their historical precedence, the applicability of these concepts to children of diverse cultural and subcultural backgrounds may be limited.

Patterns of Childrearing Practices and Attitudes

Early research. Interest in patterns of childrearing practices and parents' attitudes toward children emerged early in child development research. Of particular importance was the work of A. L. Baldwin and his associates (e.g., Baldwin, 1949; Baldwin et al., 1945, 1949) at the Fels Research Institute in Yellow Springs, Ohio. As part of a longitudinal study, these researchers observed family interactions in the home and identified three clusters of parental behaviors that were correlated with children's social development: parents' acceptance of their children, parental indulgence, and democratic attitudes toward rule enforcement. In particular, democratic attitudes toward children, including the participation of children in decision making about rules, was found to be an important determinant of positive social development. Children whose parents were democratic were socially facile and exhibited high levels of performance on intellectual tasks compared to children whose parents exhibited a more restrictive style of interaction. Consistent with other research of this era, minority children appear to be unrepresented in the sample.

Baumrind's (1967, 1970, 1971) research on parental attitudes towards childrearing took a different methodological tack as she combined parental interviews about childrearing with observations of parent–child interactions in the home. Her samples, however, were similar to those employed in the Fels studies in that they were largely white and middle class in composition. Baumrind's coding of parental behavior and interviews resulted in three distinct parental philosophies: the authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive styles. Authoritarian parents value order in their lives and obedience from their children. They are described as being inflexible and strict in their enforcement of rules and they discourage independence in their children. In contrast, authoritative parents encourage independence in their children although they set standards for children's behavior. Obedience of rules is expected, although authoritative parents are more likely to discuss the rationale underlying rules than are authoritarian parents. Finally, permissive parents are accepting of their children, but are less likely to set or enforce behavioral standards. The general pattern of findings emerging from Baumrind's research is that children from authoritative families show greater achievement motivation, cooperation with peers and adults, and independence than do children from either authoritarian or permissive families.

In their review of the parenting literature Maccoby and Martin (1983) identify two dimensions that distinguish between parenting styles. The first dimension (Acceptance versus Rejection) focuses on the nature of the parent's basic attitude toward children. Accepting parents are described as being more child-centered and responsive while rejecting parents are thought to be unresponsive and focused on their own needs and desires. The second dimension (Demanding versus Undemanding) focuses on the behavioral standards parents set for children and the enforcement of those standards. Demanding parents have high expectations for their children and they attempt to control their children's behavior while undemanding parents do neither. Applying Baumrind's scheme to the Maccoby and Martin classifications, authoritative parents are high on both acceptance and demand and authoritarian parents place demands on their children while rejecting them. Permissive parents are classified in two categories: those who are indulgent (accepting and undemanding) and those who are neglectful or indifferent (unaccepting and undemanding). As was the case with Baumrind's original classification scheme, Maccoby and Martin's review of the literature indicates greater social and cognitive competency among children of authoritative parents than among children of authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful parents.

PARENTING STYLES AMONG MINORITY POPULATIONS

A number of researchers and theorists have criticized the use of the Anglo-European model for dealing with the socialization of minority group children. In particular Ogbu (e.g., 1981, 1988) has proposed that the parenting styles observed among minority families are geared toward the development of instrumental competencies that may be unique to a particular subculture or environment. As a result, the socialization goals of minority families may be different from or at odds with the goals espoused by the dominant culture. Consistent with this proposal is McLoyd's (e.g., 1990) notion that socioeconomic differences between the dominant culture and subcultures as well as differences within a particular subculture may result in different socialization practices and goals. Harrison and her colleagues (Harrison et al., 1990) have identified two socialization goals of ethnic minorities that are different from goals accepted by the dominant culture: positive identification with the ethnic group and socialization toward interdependence.

The context of socialization within ethnic minority families provides a venue in which positive identification with one's own ethnic group can occur. Especially in a racist environment or within a dominant culture that devalues the mores of subcultural components, the family may provide the only haven in which positive ethnic self-evaluations can occur (e.g., Nobles, 1988). For example, Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen (1990) have documented that race and racial experiences are a primary part of the socialization of African-American children. Racial socialization among this segment of the population included an emphasis on a recognition of the role that ethnicity will play in children's lives (e.g., the presence of racial restrictions) as well as the provision of strategies for coping with racism in the dominant culture. Parents in this sample emphasized pride in one's race and stressed values of the dominant culture such as working hard, getting an education, and being a good citizen.

Socialization toward interdependence also appears to be a common pattern among ethnic minority families. For example, Lin and Fu (1990) found that immigrant Chinese parents imparted traditional cultural values regarding, among other values, interdependence. Harrison and her colleagues (1990) maintain that ethnic minority children are instructed to behave in a cooperative fashion as opposed to the competitive, individualistic style favored by Anglo-European parents. According to McLoyd (1990), economic hardship enhances the interdependence among family members necessary for survival.

Ethnic minority parents differ in the childrearing strategies they employ as a function of a variety of factors. For example, subcultural values within several ethnic groups (e.g., Hispanic-Americans) are more patriarchal and, thus, more apt to be authoritarian in nature than is true among the dominant culture (e.g., Chapter 10; Sutherland, 1983). Among the most important of these factors, however, appears to be socioeconomic status. In general, poor parents, regardless of their ethnic background, are likely to stress obedience in their children, to use power assertion and physical punishment as disciplinary techniques, are less likely to express affection, and are less likely to discuss problems with their children (McLoyd, 1990). Economic distress as a result of poverty may account for a large portion of the differences between impoverished and economically advantaged parents' styles of interaction. For example, poor parents, responding to the stress of poverty and its attendant problems, may not possess the psychological energy necessary to respond to their children in a nonauthoritarian fashion (McLoyd, 1990). Similarly, poverty may lead to inconsistency in parents' styles of childrearing. For example, Middlemiss-Ross (1990) asked lower socioeconomic status African-American mothers to indicate how they would respond to a series of standard behavior problems typical of 4-year-old children. Only 27% of these mothers reported that they would respond in a consistent fashion. Interestingly, among consistent responders the predominant parenting style was an authoritative one. Among economically advantaged and acculturated minority parents, parenting styles similar to those found among dominant culture parents are common (e.g., Gutierrez & Sameroff, 1990; McLoyd, 1990). Thus, socioeconomic status appears to play an important role in influencing parenting styles among both ethnic minority and majority parents. The overrepresentation of ethnic minorities among the impoverished segments of American society may account for some of the differences observed in parenting practices and socialization outcomes (e.g., Patterson, Kupersmidt, & Vaden, 1990). Parents' attempts to cope with the material needs of their families may influence strongly the ways in which they attempt to socialize their children.

PATTERNS OF ACADEMIC SOCIALIZATION

One mainstream cultural value that appears to have been adopted by ethnic minorities in the United States is the importance attributed to education. Indeed, in some cases ethnic minorities may value education more than do Anglo-Europeans. For example, Stevenson, Chen, and Uttal (1990) interviewed white, African-American, and Hispanic-American children and their mothers about the importance of education and educational activities. Their data indicated that mothers of minority children placed a higher value on education and believed more strongly in the value of homework, competency testing, and increases in the length of time spent at school than was evinced by nonminority mothers.

Despite the positive attitudes that emerge in minority parents' views towards education, minority parents may often be incapable of providing their children with the guidance and assistance necessary to insure academic success. In general, non-Asian ethnic minority group members are likely to be less educated than are majority group members (McLoyd, 1990). Unfortunately, level of parental education is a strong predictor of minority children's academic achievement (Entwisle & Alexander, 1990) whereas parental attitudes toward education appear to exert a weak influence on children's achievement (Alexander & Entwisle, 1988). Finally, the value attributed to education appears to be inversely related to socioeconomic status: Children who grow up in poverty may inherit a set of cultural mores that deemphasizes the value of educational achievement (Ogbu, 1981).

CONCLUSIONS

Childrearing in American society exhibits a great deal of diversity, reflecting differences in the various subcultures of which this nation is comprised. It is apparent that different values exist among these components of the larger society, values that influence strongly the ways in which American children differing in ethnicity are socialized. However, it is also important to note that neither minority status nor membership in a particular minority group is predictive of adherence to a particular set of norms or values (Slaughter-Defoe, Nakagawa, Takanishi, & Johnson, 1990). While certain values appear to be shared both within and across the ethnic groups, both minority and majority, found in contemporary American society, other factors appear to exert a strong influence on childrearing goals and behaviors. In particular, socioeconomic status appears to play an important role in the adoption of particular values and enactment of particular behaviors. The complexity and diversity of differences both between and within the subcultures present in the United States illustrate the richness of its immigrant roots and the plasticity of human behavior.

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8

The Parent–Child Relationship and Socialization in the Context of Modern Childhood: The Case of Sweden

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The purpose of this chapter is to examine the construction of childhood in a country that has undergone rapid social and cultural change; and to look at the ways in which socialization and parent–child interaction have developed and changed in Sweden in the context of increasing employment of women, public day care provision, and shifts in the cultural outlook on children's position and rights. These changes have been implicated in shaping parent–child relationships in a modern welfare state such as Sweden. The picture presented here is inevitably a general one. The social and cultural landscapes of Swedish children have changed over time, and differ geographically and between different social groups. Different views of what a child is and how a child should be socialized and integrated in society also coexist in Sweden.

In considering the factors that are important for understanding the specific nature of Swedish society today, Therborn (1988) targeted two central issues. The first concerns the relationship between authority and equality and refers to the power and importance of the state in Swedish society to assert egalitarian values in relation, for example, to gender and class. The second deals with the characterizing social dynamics of Sweden that are based on the principles of organization, order, and reform.

The history and development of these conditions are beyond the scope of this chapter, but they clearly have had an immense effect on the shaping of the family and children's lives, and are important in understanding and explaining the mode of interaction between parents and children. Childrearing and socialization in Sweden must be seen in light of a strong state regulating the life of the family and children through family policy, legislation, and reforms. At the same time, there has been a radical environment for social reform, consisting of a welfare intelligentsia and self-disciplining popular social mass movements located in a society that has not refused state involvement (Olsson, 1990). The movement has been important not only in the struggle to remove gender and class inequalities, but also those inequalities between parents and children.

The socialization of the child must also be seen in relation to the fact that almost all parents work, and that most children spend much of their time in day care or preschools. It is the intertwined relationship between children, parents, work, and public child care which must be examined in order to understand how parents arrange and structure their lives with their children, and what values are inherent in those relationships and interactions. The conditions and values of the workplace can certainly be in conflict with the new values of the family. As will be seen, the relationship between day care, family, and work is an important structuring factor and a source of tension in the relationship between parents and children.

Despite discussions regarding the balance between career and domestic roles, most of the research on children, family, and work has focused on parents' working and living conditions in relation to the new requirements of the workplace and the way the state and legal system interface with family politics. The perspective taken is that of the adult and it is only recently that attention has been paid to the lives and socialization of children in relation to the changing conditions and requirements of work. Although this chapter focuses on the relation between children and parents, it is important to remember that these relationships are permeated by the background factors sketched here. The majority of Swedish children live in urban areas and the analysis and the studies referred to herein concern mostly urban children. The central social changes will be considered in relation to changing conditions for the child–parent relationship and the socialization of the child.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CHILD

New Conceptions of the Child and the Parent–Child Relationship

What is a child and what are its needs? The answers to these questions involve cultural themes that underlie childrearing practices in every country. We will trace here some of these themes in relation to the social conditions under which Swedish children live. Since the beginning of the 1900s, this century has been described as the child's century (Key, 1900). Historically, if we consider what has occurred in terms of the development of conceptions of the child, we could say that there has been progress in terms of the child's rights and position in Swedish society (Aries, 1962; Sandin, 1986; Shorter, 1975). In the early 1930s there was a strong movement to bring childrearing into alignment with both the requirements of the democratic spirit of the age and scientific discoveries relating to the child's developmental needs. Tradition dissolving ideas were advocated in order to counteract existing authoritarian and patriarchal outlooks. Obedience and subordination to parents' authority, which earlier characterized the child's position in the family, has changed to a more reciprocal relation in which children and their requirements are respected. Have these discussions had any effect on the way parents conceptualize their children and on parent–child relationships today?

Two studies throw light on this issue. In the beginning of the 1980s, the European Value Systems Study Group (EVSSG-study) conducted a study in which people from 15 European countries were interviewed on their values and opinions in relation to working life, leisure time, family life, politics, religion, and moral issues (Harding, 1987). In Sweden, which was not part of the EVSSG-study, a comparable study was undertaken (Pettersson, 1988). In comparing the Swedish outlook on the relationship between parents and children with that of the other European countries, it was found that Swedish people took a less authoritarian position, and Swedes viewed their own parents as less strict in their childrearing practices. When asked what should be the relationship between parents and children, almost two-thirds of the "Europeans" answered that children should respect and love their parents irrespective of their faults and shortcomings. By contrast, only half of the Swedes held that view. Although the differences are not great, there were tendencies which indicate that Swedish people regard the parent–child relationship as less authoritarian and built on mutual respect than other Europeans. Pettersson (1988) contends that Swedes and the rest of the Europeans have almost the same general goals for their childrearing practices, the only exception being that Swedes want to use less authoritarian approaches in the socialization of children. When asked what they would value in the future, Swedes indicated less support for social conformist behavior and obedience; they viewed the ideals for tomorrow to be individualism and autonomy. Likewise, in another study (Åström, 1986) in which three generations of women were interviewed about their own upbringing, a shift toward more freedom and independence for children emerged in their responses. Desired changes were toward a less authoritarian and more physically intimate and friendly relationship in which the democratic ethos is valued.

Legislation Concerning Children and Families

Just as the socialization process between parents and children is based on and directed by the conception of the child and its developmental needs held by parents, so too are family policy and legislation about children. These are tied to the cultural and social conceptions of children inherent in a society. We can see that in the case of Sweden, the process of democratization is expressed in the legislation of children's rights and interests. The legal status of the child has been changed so that today children are granted rights and parents and society have responsibilities imposed by law. Children must be protected, but must also have space for their own development. Parents' responsibilities and obligations as well as the child's needs, rights, and interests have been spelled out. A vivid example of this shift in the acknowledgment of children's rights is evidenced in a law passed in 1979 that prohibits physical punishment and other humiliating treatment of children. The delineation of parental responsibilities and the legal rights of children have markedly enhanced the visibility of Swedish children.

Another important policy in Sweden, and one in which Sweden is ahead of other Scandinavian countries, involves the option for parents to stay at home when their children are very young. The former maternity leave has been transformed into parental leave which enables either parent to take paid leave from work for up to 12 months after a child is born. The percentage of fathers taking advantage of this option is fairly low, but it is increasing steadily. For example, fathers are more likely to take up the option of staying at home and receiving almost full pay when a child is ill. The increased paternal involvement, however, may be due to greater flexibility in men's working schedules (Flood, 1989), and to the fact that most Swedish women work part time and do not want to be away from work too often, even when the possibility of doing so exists.

Today, the greater interest in children and in caring for them is paralleled by an image of childhood as exclusively a preparation for adulthood. "To be a child or to be young is perceived not as something in itself—something which is here and now. It's only a step in becoming an adult. Real life is not lived until you are grown up. . . . That which children and youngsters think, express, shape and do is not interesting in itself—they must have some profit from it later on in life" (Lundmark, 1985, p. 10). Qvortrup (1986) has argued that adults are unaware of the contribution of children and their role in society. Modern society demands, directly or indirectly, that children go to preschool and school. Through schooling, children can later contribute to the economy. Nonetheless, their value and prestige in Sweden are still being debated.

CHANGING FAMILY PATTERNS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Being a Worker—Being a Mother

Changes in the mode of interaction in the family are very closely connected to the fact that both women and men in Sweden work even when they have small children. The proportion of working mothers has risen very rapidly during the past 25 years. In the 1950s, women's participation in the workforce in Sweden was lower than that of women in the Western world. However, by the end of the 1960s, it was significantly higher than for women in the Western world (Therborn, 1988). In 1988, 82 percent of children between 0–6 years of age and 90 percent of those between 11–16 had a working mother (Official Statistics of Sweden, 1989). It should be noted, however, that most of these women worked part time. The change in women's employment has had a serious impact on parent–child relationships.

A number of studies have examined the effects of both maternal and paternal employment on family functioning. Most studies stress that Swedish families with a high level of gainful employment seem to live under considerable time pressure and have long commutes to work (Köhler, 1990; Lundén & Näsman, 1989; Reimer, 1975). Both parents and children studied said that the work place required too much time and energy and intruded on family life. Time seems to be a crucial regulating factor in modern life, and it is no surprise that support has grown in Sweden for a six-hour working day for parents. Tight time pressure necessitates very careful time management for dual-earner families.

Despite the state of affairs regarding family employment, we know very little about how work circumstances influence the lives of children. Parents, as well as children, can handle stressful work schedules in so many different ways. That mothers work can also imply that they have new experiences and stimulation in the workplace which can translate into positive outcomes for children. It is obvious that many parents are able to structure everyday life for their children in such a way that most of the stressful conditions which they themselves experience are not transmitted to their children. Most parents seem to have devised strategies to compensate for some of the negative aspects a strenuous lifestyle may have on children (The Basun-project, 1991).

New Family Patterns and Socialization

During recent decades, the family pattern in Sweden has undergone several radical changes. Up to the mid-1980s, the birth rate declined and women, to an ever increasing extent, gave birth to their first child later in the life cycle and demonstrated a diminishing preference for having more than two children. When women were asked how many children they wanted, most expressed the desire for two children (Sveriges officiella statistik, 1984). During the last few years, the birth rate has increased, but it is hard to say whether the increase will continue since many women who have postponed childbirth may have contributed to the increase.

At the same time, fewer children are born within a traditional marriage than ever before. From the end of the 1960s an increasing number of couples have been living together in marriage-like forms without being legally married. In 1984, 44 percent of couples were living together without being married in comparison to 31 percent a decade earlier. It seems as if the so-called *sambo* (cohabiting) relationship has become a stable alternative to marriage in the Swedish context (Johansson, 1985). It is important to note that the cohabiting relationship has almost the same legal and moral status as marriage in Swedish society.

In this vein, there has been considerable discussion about the decline of the family since parents are dissolving their relationships at a higher rate. This discussion has been seductive in the sense that many people in Sweden think that most children live with a single parent. By analyzing the statistics, however, one can see that most children in fact live in a nuclear family unit (with married or unmarried parents) with their biological parents. In 1984 and 1985, 95 percent of all children under one year of age were living with their biological parents. For children under 7 years of age almost 90 percent lived with both of their biological parents. For children between 16–17 years of age 28 percent were estimated to live with a single parent. Most of these children lived with their mothers; only 5 percent lived with their fathers (Sveriges officiella statistik, 1989). From the point of view of the child, divorce in the Swedish context is more socially accepted and not as stigmatizing compared to that of perceptions a couple of decades earlier.

Much of the earlier discussion of new family patterns centered around children of single mothers. These family arrangements are complicated and dynamic. Many single mothers have entered a new relationship with a new partner which means that the child lives with the mother and another adult. There is also a tendency in the modern welfare state for divorce and separation to give rise to bi-nuclear families, for example, households established by each ex-spouse (Ahrons & Rogers, 1987). Living in a bi-nuclear family means that the child basically lives with one of its parents, but often meets and lives with the other parent regularly. The child very often, then, becomes part of two nuclear families. About 3 percent of all children live with their mother and a new "father" (e.g., in a reconstructed family) and 0.3 percent of children live in bi-nuclear families (Välfärdsbulletinen, 1989).

Swedish laws have been adjusted to take into account this latter family style. Family rights legislation takes as its starting point the individual's free right to marry and to divorce, with marriage as a terminable contract between two separate individuals with their own identities, attributes, and interests. In doing so, the laws have separated marriage and parenthood. The relationship between the couple is seen as built on voluntary participation and the individual's independence, while the regulation of parenthood attempts to maintain the child's right to both of its parents. This contractual view of parent–child relationship has been questioned. Liljeström and Kollind (1990) have argued that when marriage and parenthood start to drift apart it becomes clear that they rest on different fundamental principles. The relationship between parents and small children is binding; it is not a terminable contract but built on responsibility and dependence.

Popenoe (1988) has examined the movement away from the traditional family to a post-nuclear family which in his view is associated with the decline of the family as an institution. He argues that social and cultural forces in modern societies may be subtly corroding the parent–child relationship. Based on, among other things, the evidence of the low birth rate, current rate of family dissolution, and a high and growing proportion of single mothers, he intimated that the process of decline has gone further in Sweden than in any other country in the world. Further, while little in Swedish law upholds the ideal of parental stability and permanence, there is great concern about the rights of children. He says:

> It is strange that a society willing to protect children's interests to the extent of interfering in the classic parental right to discipline their own children as they see fit, through outlawing spanking, would not at the same time give more serious attention to the issue of parental stability. Yet in regard to the marriages and marriage-like relationships of parents, Sweden may now be the most relaxed, non-interfering society in the world. In the age of individualism, individual means adults and not children! If children were involved in formulating welfare policies the situation would be different. Family stability is extremely important to children and therefore to a society as a whole. (p. 336)

It is understandable that rapid change has resulted in uneasiness and nostalgia in which many idealize past family norms. But an important point to remember is that the form of family life—traditions, marriages, and contact with relatives—in the Nordic countries has always been different from the rest of Europe. Social and economic problems combined with a hard climate meant that fewer people married, and when married the mean size of families was small. Four to five children was the mean for the Swedish family, but many of these children died in their early years. Divorce has been fairly common for hundreds of years in the Nordic countries, and birth control has also been an important strategy in Sweden. The extended family as a living unit never became established in Sweden (Gaunt, 1988).

As some historians point out, there may be a crisis for marriage as an institution, but this does not mean that there is a crisis for the family as a place for living and raising children. Even if productive work has moved out of the family, in addition to its emotional functions, the family has gained new functions connected with the structuring of modern everyday life. The complexity of everyday life with its turbulent surroundings places new demands on parents' ability for adaptation, organization, and planning, and for giving children as good an environment for development as possible. New tasks, then, have accrued within the family that stem from social development in general and from specific changes related to women's gainful employment, including children's increasing enrollment in child care centers and preschool.

It is also the case that the decreasing importance of marriage has not meant that the family and family bonds have been dissolved. If we look at the family circle, relatives in descending generations for example, irrespective of whether they share a household, there is evidence that the family in a wider sense is important for care and social life (Gaunt, 1987). Others (Köhler, 1990) argue too that the social isolation that is often attributed to families today is not the case. With data from a large-scale study of family and health in the Nordic countries, Köhler (1990) showed that Swedish parents have close and frequent contacts with friends and relatives.

In a short period of time, it is difficult to assess exactly what consequences and implications the new family patterns will have for childrearing and parent–child interaction. While solid evidence is difficult to obtain, new research is emerging that takes into account how children perceive and handle the new family social organization patterns.

Empirical Studies on Changing Family Patterns

Research on socialization and changing family structure in Sweden provides some insights on evolving family patterns and the ability of families to adapt to a complex modern society. For instance, Liljeström (1990) interviewed 20 couples about their life history and parenthood. A majority of the couples had experienced divorce and had young children living with them. The descriptive data point to the sometimes unbearable conditions under which some children live, but also to the very positive experiences which result with the acquisition of a new parent. Some children had conflictual relationships with the new parent, while others were welcoming and accepting of a new parent in the family. Liljeström (1990) concludes that the variations are great and in this respect reestablished families do not differ from intact families. There is a paradox here, however. While the reestablished families are an expression of individual freedom to construct new family bonds, the complex nature of these arrangements puts great demands on social flexibility and the consideration of others' needs and interests.

Divorce can involve feelings of guilt, rejection, and animosity on the part of children. Children are required to accept a new milieu, new values, and new people in their lives. These increasing demands can be tempered by parental sensitivity and the manner in which parents handle divorce. The ability of parents to separate the problems they have between each other from the problems they have with their children can ease transitional difficulties during divorce and remarriage. In fact, Köhler (1990) posited that a divorce can have the effect of reinforcing motherhood and fatherhood as both parents want to demonstrate that they are competent. They are anxious about the child's future and concerned about the child's happiness and security. In Köhler's (1990) work, reestablished families were very child-oriented even if they were often burdened with guilt and divided loyalties. Some parents had more time with their children after a divorce and fathers, in particular, suddenly showed an increased interest in their children by making decisions about them, planning their time, and taking care of them. Even among authoritarian fathers, there was more patience with and tolerance for children.

In related work, Lassbo (1988) investigated differences in development between children who were brought up by a single parent and children brought up by two parents living together. Assessments conducted on children's cognitive ability, social adaptability, and personality development in the family and in school revealed few differences between the two groups of children. It became obvious that it is difficult to use the family pattern as a starting point to discuss and evaluate the results of socialization since it is too generalized a concept. A careful analysis of educational status and economic conditions may shed more light on family functioning than structure itself. Indeed, when stability and the socioeconomic status of the family were introduced into the analysis, the picture changed. The educational level of mothers significantly influenced how favorably children were judged. Mothers from high educational backgrounds put greater demands on their children and stressed independence and achievement. By contrast, less well-educated mothers were more oriented towards home and family and stressed good behavior in socialization. Good behavior was also valued by well-educated but lonely mothers.

The above findings are not surprising since well-educated mothers were the ones seeking a divorce. They had more resources and more qualified jobs; they put considerable effort into having children and were very satisfied with their own childrearing. Furthermore, because divorce is not so stigmatized in Sweden and legislation has ensured better economic conditions for women, highly educated women might be expected to better adapt to single-parent lifestyles. For less well-educated mothers the outcome was not as positive, however. They had to work long hours in unsatisfying jobs. Consequently, a number preferred to be at home as much as possible supported by social security. To be certain about the challenges of being a single-parent, "there should be no idealization of the single-family pattern or the way to it, which all with their own experience of it can agree is overgrown with thorns, but in the end the result can be good" (Lassbo, 1988, p. 67).

It is difficult to make general statements about how children will react to divorce. It is my suspicion that some will have real difficulties due to instability and conflicts within the family, while others will be able to handle the situation relatively well, and even gain new competencies. The parents' ability to cope with and frame the experience in a positive light seems to be of greatest importance. The capacity to effectively cope with transitional difficulties is closely linked to parent's material and cultural situation. More likely than not, divorce will be harder on parents and children living under conditions of economic scarcity and in families where parents have inflexible work schedules.

A New Role for the Father?

As noted earlier, most Swedish mothers work part time while fathers work full time. Part-time employment for women means that they still assume a good deal of child care responsibility in the home. There is evidence that points to a greater involvement of fathers with their children, but the mother still assumes most of the responsibility for childrearing at home (Sandqvist, 1987). This is particularly so in working-class families where household work and child care still tend to be women's duty (Liljeström & Dahlström, 1981).

In Sandqvist's (1987) work it was shown that when fathers spend time with their children it is most often in situations which give rise to immediate rewards, for example, in spontaneous, personal contact with children in play. Fathers engage far less than mothers in the routine and time-consuming work that results from having a young child in the house. The modern father has become the child's playmate and he is, to a greater extent than was the case a few decades ago, a significant and important person in the child's socialization process. Moss (1990) suggested that the increased paternal involvement in early socialization could benefit women, since work in the home would be more evenly divided, but also because it would create a major change in work expectations and practices. In the long run, this should also be of great benefit to men, opening up to them new and enriching possibilities and experiences. Moss (1990) further states that, as far as he knows, Sweden is the only country where increasing men's involvement in child care is an explicit policy objective.

In the project Childhood, Society and Development in the Nordic Countries (The Basun-project, 1991) in which the author participated, data revealed that many fathers want to and demand the opportunity to be with their children. If fathers start spending time with their children this may later result in children actively requesting and expecting fathers to become more involved in childrearing. In short, with the appearance of the new conception of the child and pressure from and negotiations with women, it seems to be more common that parents think that their children need both a committed mother and a committed father. This historical shift has placed parenthood in a reciprocal mode, that is, from the viewpoint of both parents and children. With this in mind, Sweden may have to further address the changing conditions of childrearing within the context of children's rights.

LIVING IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

The enrollment of children in preschools or in some form of day care is a very distinct feature of the socialization of modern childhood in the whole Western world. Today, very young children in Sweden are influenced by public socialization and pedagogy in one form or another. The "institutionalization" of the child has moved further and further down in age. This is not only caused by rapid change in the social conditions of the society, such as mothers' gainful employment, but also by conceptions of the new role for the child. The participation of small children in a pedagogically stimulating environment has become an historical necessity in an information- and knowledge-loaded society. Until recently, infancy was a period when only physical and emotional care was considered appropriate. Now, specific forms of childrearing and psychological care for even the youngest children are paramount. Today's parents need to offer children a stimulating pedagogic environment. Parents, largely mothers, are also expected to be informed consumers of services and are increasingly active participants in their children's nurseries and schools. It becomes imperative, then, that research efforts consider the encounter between children's experiences at home and in preschool and day care (Dalhberg, 1985; Dencik, Bäckström, & Larsson, 1988).

Recent work (Dencik, 1988) has followed this lead. In a qualitative study, it was found that the institutionalization of the child creates new demands on the child's ability to move between the family's private emotionality and the public instrumentality of day care (Dencik et al., 1988). Using Elias' (1976) theory of the process of civilization, a process of development from obedience to the exercise of inner self-control, the researchers argue that modern civilization is characterized by greater demands being made on us to perform in an increasing number of public arenas. Even when parents try hard to make the different worlds of the child continuous or coherent, modern children very often live with inconsistent messages and norms, as they travel between different contexts, such as day care, the parents, new families, and so forth. Both in Sweden and elsewhere this has generated concern in parents and researchers. Will the result be patchwork children, narcissistic children, borderline children? There are numerous epithets (see, for example, Elkind, 1984).

In the same study, it was also maintained that there are inherent strengths in childhood socialization in multiple settings (Dencik et al., 1988). New demands, such as being able to travel in an increasing number of social and public arenas, do require new social competencies. The child needs to develop new competencies to be able to live with incompatible values and contradictory models. Perhaps this is precisely what the disguised function of the day care center is: to civilize children at a tender age, thereby facilitating the course of social development (Denick et al., 1988).

In the Denick et al. (1988) study it was shown that parents experienced difficulty in sorting out the division of responsibility in guiding children between home and day care. In comparison to the professional staff of day care centers, parents regarded themselves as amateurs in childrearing. One reason offered by parents for this was that old models of parental functioning with which they were familiar were no longer adequate for modern childhood. As a result, parents became sensitive to the kinds of activities the day care center staff engaged in with their children. Parents reported expending considerable effort into adjusting their socialization activities in accordance with those of the day care staff. They struggled to bring home care into agreement with day care, a situation which almost resulted in what the researchers called the abdication of parenthood.

Understandably many of today's parents are dependent on the advice of so-called experts. Parenting demands are different and standards for meeting children's needs are changing. This generation of parents find themselves in a unique situation in relation to their children's socialization. It can safely be said that they are the first generation of parents who must raise their children in a way different from their own upbringing and to be something which they themselves are not. It may also be the case that many children understand current and future society better than their parents. If this is so, then the exemplary childrearing customs of the past cannot guide the present. The need to develop normatively valid childrearing principles from our own current experiences and modes of life is imperative (Habermas, 1985). In the next section an attempt is made to investigate the sophisticated process of childrearing in modern Sweden.

MODERN CHILDREARING—A SOPHISTICATED PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION

In a large-scale study (The Basun-project) conducted in five Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), an attempt was made to construct a mosaic of children's experiences in the context of modern childhood. The experiences of children in the context of the family, work, and day care were ascertained. Concurrently, children's living conditions were mapped and the social and cultural relationships influencing the child were also discerned.

Data from the Basun-project were gathered on two groups of dual-earning parents and their 5-year-old children. One group of parents were from the new working class with a fairly low educational background working mainly in the service and distribution sector of society, while the second group was from the new middle class who were well educated and worked in mainly the symbolic markets. Thirty 5-year-old children in each country were observed and interviewed. Significant others with whom the children interacted, such as parents and day care staff, were also interviewed.

One objective of the qualitative study was to examine how the relationship between parents and children takes gestalt in modern family life, and what kinds of competencies are enhanced by the processes of interaction in the family. In this part of the study the following questions were posed: What characterizes the social practice between the child and parents? What forms of social regulation are used? What conception of the child is built into the everyday practices of the child–parent relationship? And what social expectations and requirements are demanded of the child and what competencies does the child develop?

The Swedish data, which are in accord with practices in most of the Nordic countries, demonstrate the great interest and commitment parents have in and to their children. As a general rule, most parents in Sweden try hard to understand the needs and prerequisites of their children. They are sensitive and empathetic and try to enter and understand the child's world. One general conclusion about childrearing which emerged among the Basun-families was that parents tried to ensure their children's participation in decision making and negotiation of future activities. They were eager to encourage their children to make their own choices and to be cooperative. The modern parent–child relationship can be seen as a sophisticated process of negotiation—negotiation about what kind of conditions the child can expect in different everyday situations. The children responded by insisting that their parents listen to them and take their ideas and desires into consideration. From the data it is also obvious that children played a considerable role in Swedish family life and many parents attempted to spend most of their free time with their children.

It is quite clear that the social control exercised in the past through an authoritarian, patriarchal relationship between parents and children, in which children's subordination was upheld by sanctions and physical punishment, appears to be in dissolution in the Swedish parent–child interaction. Most parents struggled to be sensitive to their children even if this sensitivity was expressed in different ways and results in different interactional practices. Modern childrearing, as described above, is exacting, as the negotiations which take place during social commerce are demanding of time, patience, and interest. In the Basun-study we found that families who lived under conditions of economic scarcity and families whose time was more regulated had a more authoritarian or laissez-faire pattern of behavior towards their children.

An examination of the way in which parents structure everyday life, how they use the time they have with their children, what kind of meaning they place on the relationship with their children, and their conception of what a child is and needs in order to develop revealed two major patterns of child–parent relationship, which we regard as significant for the development of children's competence in modern life: "*the child as an immediate presence*" and "*the child as a project.*" Similar patterns have also emerged in another Swedish study of parents' conceptions of childrearing (Halldén, 1987).

The first pattern, "the child as an immediate presence," is characterized by parents being on hand for their children without guiding their activities too much. These parents try to be in the vicinity of their children and are accessible, but they expect their children to take initiatives and to do things by themselves. They have considerable confidence in their children. While these children have a great deal of freedom to decide what to do in their own free time, these families are also establishing clear boundaries, setting limits, and providing feedback to their children on appropriate and inappropriate behavior. They regard their children as natural, and they stress that one should let children be children as they will grow up soon enough.

The second pattern, "the child as a project," is characterized by parents who are more inclined to arrange the everyday life of their children by guiding them into and involving them in different stimulating activities. These parents discuss and argue a lot with their children and often use verbal reasoning to negotiate different solutions and to prepare their children for expected future events. They negotiate boundaries and appeal to reason. In addition, they have a psychological conception of their children in which their children are seen as constructed. The social context and the parents' relationship with their children are considered very important for their children's development. Many of these parents are trying to place demands appropriate for their children's age, but there are many who fall short of both the demands of their children and of child psychology.

In a context where most parents are trying to be sensitive to their children, we can see from our data that the orientation towards the child as a project, an orientation related to a form of socialization where the child's inner self-control is developed, is a more typical pattern of family socialization in the new middle-class families. These parents, consciously or unconsciously, are able to groom their children to match the conditions and demands of modern society, contributing to the development of their children's individuality and flexibility in the face of new requirements. They aim to develop in their children a social and communicative competence and ability to operate in different contexts with different rules.

Some Contradictions

Our data revealed some contradictions as well. The interviews showed that parents' empathy and sensitivity for their children can sometimes go too far where children's demands govern childrearing. This problem is aptly described by the Newsons in their study of 5-year-olds in an urban community:

> In throwing out the pedestal and becoming the "good pals" of their children, however, many parents are finding that they have got something more than they bargained for. Rejecting rigid authoritarianism, and choosing because it is pleasanter a more permissive approach, it is not always so easy to accept the more spirited, disrespectful child which is the result. In very many mothers (and fathers), from every social class, can be detected an uneasiness, a confusion, as to what they are achieving and what they are trying to achieve. It is in this confusion that we can discern the major dilemma of contemporary parents, particularly those further up the social scale. (Newson, 1968, p. 558)

To respect children and to be sensitive to their special characteristics must not imply that parents relinquish responsibility for their children's upbringing. There is always a balance between understanding the child and placing relevant demands or giving guidance. When parents make their children more conscious about themselves and their potential, it also means that children have an increased responsibility for themselves and for realizing their own possibilities.

Another issue that emerged from our data that warrants discussion is parents' consideration of and the endeavor to regard the child as "a little person in its own right." This can easily result in a high degree of invisible parental control.

We found that some children were almost constantly under the supervision of parents. As parents gain greater insight into children's lives, the process itself may require greater control. Ultimately, this could lead to greater dependency on adults on the part of children. This is particularly true for some of the children living the project-oriented life. At the other end of the continuum are those children who may resist such parental intrusion into their lives and may exert their independence by often ignoring parents' questions or by avoiding answering them.

CONCLUSION

A new construction of both childhood and parenthood goes hand in hand with the development of an advanced and complex society. In extending Durkheim's theory, Bernstein (1975) studied the process of the shaping of modern parent–child relationships. He argued that an invisible form of childrearing and pedagogy has replaced the more visible type of childrearing of earlier times. In the invisible pedagogy, the control between parent and child is not directly discernible and the boundaries between what is permitted and not permitted are implicit. Bernstein (1975) relates this to the development of subjectivity and connects it with a movement towards a more individualized relationship between parents and children. This movement has resulted in acquired and specialized roles rather than the former ascribed roles which presupposed some common form of value system, demands, and expectations. The process of individualization continues to evolve as a society becomes more and more complex and differentiated. What happens is that the invisible form of childrearing and pedagogy may, in fact, encourage more of the child to become visible or surveilled. It also opens up greater uncertainty and ambivalence, offering more possibilities of choice.

This position is in accord with that of Ziehe (1986) whose surmise is that the increasing growth of individuality in modern societies reinforces the significance of the subject which can strengthen the child's conflicts about decisions. This places considerable demands on the process of socialization in terms of providing the next generation with the possibility to create, experiment, and take their own responsibilities. Modern children must themselves, to a large extent, create their own identity. Life becomes a complicated project which one must formulate for oneself. The route to inner self-control seems to be longer than the route to obedience. In a society characterized by rapid change and development, the demands and requirements that the future will hold for children are difficult to anticipate. Children need to be prepared for that anticipated future in the present. It seems, however, that the new patterns for childrearing open up new forms of freedom, with many alternatives that impose great demands upon both children and parents to use that freedom in the best way possible. To some parents and children, exercising this new freedom will not be possible since the gap may widen between those parents and children who have the capability of responding to the new demands of society in an adequate way and those who, as a result of economic and cultural constraints, are unable to do so. To remedy this situation could be the new challenge for the welfare state of Sweden.

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9

Family and Parent–Child Relations in Spain[*]

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POPULATION AND FAMILY IN SPAIN: SOME STRUCTURAL ASPECTS

Spain is situated in the south of Europe, bordered by Portugal and France and separated by only a few kilometers from the continent of Africa. Following decades of isolation, the past several years have witnessed changes in both the political nature of Spain (e.g., the development of post-Franco governance and entrance into the European Economic Community) and the social demography of the nation. The Spanish people (population: approximately 38 million) are distributed over the 50 provinces of Spain, with over slightly half (51.3 percent) living in municipalities of more than 50,000 persons and about one-quarter (26.8 percent) living in villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants.

Intranational migration patterns reflect a movement away from rural areas to the provincial capital cities. However, in the case of the largest cities in the country (Madrid and Barcelone), thousands of families settled in villages lying on the outskirts of major metropolitan areas, leading to the growth of "dormitory towns" that are now part of large metropolitan areas. The fact that the growth of the cities and the "dormitory towns" occurred in the 1960s, an era in which little attention was paid to the human needs of urban/suburban residents, we find that substantial portions of these metropolitan areas consist of large buildings, crowded closely together, with minimal space for sport or leisure facilities and only minimal levels of social services. Concurrently, rural areas of the country

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were neglected, particularly with regard to access to health, educational and cultural resources. Changes in the sociopolitical climate in recent years have resulted in a greater availability of social services for both urban/suburban and rural residents.

The structure of the Spanish family has undergone considerable change in the past 20 years. For example, Conde (1983) reports that the Spanish family of the 1960s typically was large and was characterized by a patriarchal structure in which traditional sex-typed roles were emphasized. Changes in patterns of family structure since that time have led to increased similarities between Spanish families and the family structures observed among other European nations. Such changes have included a decrease in the rate of marriage, increases in the number of premarital sexual relationships and cohabitation, later age of marriage, smaller families, a tendency to postpone childbearing, and increases in the divorce rate (Díez-Nicolás, 1983).

Table 9.1 illustrates the patterns of relationships predominantly found in contemporary Spain. As can be seen, the complete nuclear family (a married couple with children) is the most common (52.3 percent of households), while approximately 15 percent of families are extended families in which three or more generations of family members reside together. On average, Spanish households are comprised of 3.64 persons. There is also a relationship between the educational levels of married couples and the number of children they have. Less educated women have an average of 2.6 children, moderately educated women have an average of 1.96 children, and those with the most education average 1.4 children.

Maternal employment remains atypical among Spanish women (Durán, 1988), with approximately 21 percent of housewives being employed. Among unemployed mothers, only 8 percent are actively seeking employment. Typically, those seeking employment have more education than those who are not and

Table 9.1. Typology of Spanish Families (Percentages).

Complete nuclear family (married couple with children)	52.31
Strict nuclear family (married couple)	17.37
Non-nuclear family (single person)	7.23
Single-parent nuclear family (woman with children)	4.97
Complete nuclear family plus previous generation (married couple + children + parents)	6.78
Complete nuclear family plus following generation (married couple + children + grandchildren)	0.60
Complete nuclear family plus previous and following generation	8.53
Percentage of homes with second degree or more distant collateral relations	1.10
Percentage of households with other people, not members of the same family (paid and unpaid)	1.11

Source: Durán (1988, p. 58)

women's participation in the job market (which also varies by educational level) is reduced noticeably following the birth of their first child (DelCampo, 1982; Instituto de la Mujer, 1986). The majority (71 percent) of working women are employed full-time; these women work two jobs (inside and outside the home) with an estimated work week of 77 hours, 42 hours of housework and 35 hours of extra-domestic work.

According to a study by the Center for Sociological Investigations (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, CIS, 1982), Spanish patterns of daily life show distinct sex differences. The majority of men and women (81 percent and 95 percent respectively) eat breakfast at home, although 66 percent of the men and 69 percent of the women eat alone. Sixty-one percent of the men go to work following breakfast as do most of the 21 percent of working Spanish housewives. The midday meal, which is the main meal of the day and is eaten between 2 and 3 p.m., is eaten in the home by 98 percent of the women and 87 percent of the men. About a third of all families eat this meal with the television on. Approximately two-thirds of the men return to work after lunch. The vast majority of men and women eat their evening meal at home (at approximately 10 p.m.) and 65 percent of families eat this meal with the television on (CIS, 1982; Durán, 1988). The vast majority of activities concerned with the household or with family members (e.g., cooking, cleaning, shopping, childcare, household maintenance, and dealings with external institutions such as schools and banks) are done by women. Indeed, of the 32 tasks listed in a CIS study (1982), only home repairs and tasks involving vehicles (driving and maintenance) were more likely to be performed by husbands than by wives.

There is a stereotyped idea that the Roman Catholic tradition exerts a strong influence on the lives of Spanish men and women (although, in fact, the country ceased to be officially Catholic after the establishment of the democratic Constitution in 1978). The vast majority of Spaniards are baptized, married, and buried by the Catholic Church (Durán, 1988). However, less than half of the Spanish population attends Mass weekly (as the Catholic church requires) and the influence of the Church on daily life and social institutions has been waning over the last few decades. Currently, the value of religion in the lives of Spaniards is 7.2 (on a 10-point scale), with work (7.7), money (8.1), love (9.3), the family (9.8), and health (9.9) all ranking of high importance. Durán (1988) posits that the Catholic Church has lost its capacity for moral leadership among younger Spaniards whose consciences reclaim autonomy "without needing radical confrontations, without losing its individual and collective identity of believers and Catholics" (p. 128). Thus, the younger generations of Spaniards do not feel bound by the decisions of the Catholic hierarchy.

A number of legislative initiatives have provided support for Spanish families and childbearing. Most notable of these are maternity leave and maternal sabbatical. Every pregnant working women has the right to a 16-week maternity leave during which she maintains her full pay and all her labor rights. If both spouses are employed, the last four weeks might be taken by the father. The maternity sabbatical lasts a year, and may be taken by either parent with a guarantee of re-employment at the conclusion of the leave and seniority benefits. A three-year sabbatical leave is also possible, although the only right accompanying this extended leave is preferential hiring should the position become vacant. Finally, parents also may take advantage of a feeding leave, consisting of relief from work one hour per day for the first nine months following the birth of the child. These rights are incorporated into every job contract and cannot be denied to any worker.

Childcare and childrearing responsibilities are generally those of the wife. For example, of housewives between the ages of 25 and 34 years, 74 percent have primary responsibility for feeding young children, 79 percent primarily are responsible for the care of children when they are home, 63 percent have to take the children to school daily, and 80 percent are responsible for attending to problems that occur during the night (Durán, 1988; Palacios, 1989b). The involvement of husbands in childcare is low and negatively related to the children's age (the older the child, the less the involvement) and positively related with educational level (the higher the educational level, the greater the participation) (Durán, 1988; Palacios, 1989b). Table 9.2 presents data from a Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas study of preschool education that gives a fair idea of the varying degrees of maternal and paternal involvement in the lives of children.

Alternative forms of extrafamilial care for small children are fairly limited in Spain. Less than 5 percent of 2-year-olds and 17 percent of 3-year-olds are enrolled in some type of extrafamilial care (daycare or preschool). Four- (84.6 percent) and 5-year-olds (97 percent) are likely to be enrolled in public preschools and kindergartens and virtually 100 percent of 6-year-olds are enrolled in school (Rivière et al., 1988). The vast majority (89 percent) of extrafamilial care centers operate during school hours (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and only 9 percent operate during the two-hours preceding and following school (7 a.m. to 7 p.m.; CIS, 1983; Palacios, 1989a).

Table 9.2. Hours Men and Women Devote to Playing with their Children Daily.

Hours per Day	Percentage of Women	Percentage of Men
One hour or less	18	46
From 2 to 3 hours	36	29
More than 3 hours	42	18
None	3	6
No answer	1	1
Total	100	100

Source: CIS (1983, p. 91)

Taken together, the data on familial patterns among Spanish families suggest that the structure and organization of Spanish families form a propitious context for the rearing of small children. The majority of housewives are not employed outside of the home, and the extrafamilial childcare alternatives for children under the age of four are both few and used by only a small percentage of the population. The mother is primarily responsible for childcare and childrearing with the father clearly holding a secondary position. At four, a majority (85 percent) of children begin to attend preschool centers in which they spend 4 to 7 hours daily interacting with teachers and peers (CIS, 1983).

PARENTAL IDEAS ABOUT CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALIZATION

While the above summary presents patterns that are typical of Spanish families, it is clear that individual differences in parental beliefs will influence the socialization experience of children. For example, some fathers spend an above average amount of time interacting with their children and some children attend extrafamilial centers earlier or later than the typical Spanish child. Such differences may have a variety of different effects, but it is reasonable to assume that they may be related to differences in the ways in which parents think about children and their development.

Our approach to parent–child relationships has been to focus on parental beliefs and theories about their children's development. Such an approach, focusing on developmental-educational ideologies, can prove to be particularly enlightening since cultures differ from one another in the types of competence parents encourage and expect or desire their children to achieve (Hess, Kashigawa, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980). A large number of the parental beliefs and theories about children's development may be "prefabricated" (Goodnow, 1985) and may be so entrenched that people find it difficult to adopt alternative points of view (Sameroff & Feil, 1985). Whiting (1974) provides numerous examples of the ways in which humans in very different adaptation circumstances regulate their childrearing beliefs and practices to maximize adaptiveness within their environments. In our society, consistent with Whiting's (1974) descriptions, the age at which toilet training occurs has increased. This change appears to have occurred in response to the existence of disposable diapers and plastic training pants rather than as a consequence of Freudian concerns about the dangers of early toilet training.

Like other researchers who have dealt with parental beliefs about children's care and development, we have concentrated on the analysis of both the content and structure of parental beliefs, determining factors, and their relationship to educational and socialization practices. We shall first present the context of our research, followed by a presentation of analyses related to the structure and content of these beliefs. Next, we discuss relationships between these beliefs and the experiences parents provide for their children. A more detailed account of this research can be found in Palacios (1988, 1990).

Context and Characteristics of the Research

Researchers interested in parents' childrearing beliefs have addressed four fundamental questions. First, they have focused on the structural organization of parental ideas, whether such ideas form coherent interrelated systems or whether in contrast these ideas form independent units. Second, researchers have addressed the contents of parents' developmental-educational theories, their beliefs about the reasons underlying children's behavior, ideas about developmental timetables, values, development, ideas about how children learn, the parents' role in learning, and beliefs about educational strategies. The third focus has been on the determinants of individual differences in parental beliefs and the roles that cultural transmission, previous parental experience, educational level, and professional status have on these beliefs. Finally, researchers have focused on the relationship between parental ideas and the educational practices employed in their interaction with children.

Opinions relating to what we have called the structure of parental ideas (internal organization, presence or nonpresence of subsystems, articulation of subsystems, etc.) are not unanimous. For some researchers, parents have clear ideas on the development and role of upbringing, ideas which are assumed to be mutually organized and articulated within a hierarchy and which are believed to form an organized system of knowledge (McGillicudy-Delisi, 1982b; Newberger, 1980; Sigel, 1985). In contrast, for others a large part of parental conduct is subject to "activity without thought" (Langer, 1978), as a considerable part of human activity develops in a relatively automatic way, following scripts which have often been formed acritically with very little or even no premeditation.

We also are interested in the demographic and sociocultural factors underlying parental beliefs about childrearing. These factors are closely related in empirical research, since normally the study of determining factors (e.g., the role of socioeconomic status) is carried out by comparing parents of diverse provenance concerning their beliefs about a specific content (e.g., expectations). The existing literature provides evidence of significant differences in status in a variety of contents including parental beliefs about developmental timetables (Ninio, 1979; Hess et al., 1980), parental evaluation of independence, autonomy, and self-affirmation (Alwin, 1984; Lautrey, 1980; Luster & Rhoades, 1987), and parents' beliefs in their ability to influence the development of their children (Johnson & Martin, 1985; Tulkin & Cohler, 1973; Zukow, 1984).

There is a wide degree of consensus on the prominence given to the role played by membership of one or another cultural group on parental beliefs (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1987; Frankel & Roer-Bornstein, 1982; Goodnow, Cashmore, Cotton, & Knight, 1984; Hess et al., 1980; Levine, 1974; Whiting, 1974). This consensus is even greater when we come to the importance given to the variables of status, although in this case there is disparity in that some authors place a greater emphasis on the role of professional activity (Kohn, 1969, 1976, 1977; Kohn & Scholler, 1969; Ispa, Gray, & Thornburg, 1984; Luster & Rhoades, 1987), while others find that educational level plays the greater role in parental activities (Alwin, 1984; Bronfenbrenner, Alvarez, & Henderson, 1984; Cashmore & Goodnow, 1987; Wright & Wright, 1976).

The role played by prior parental experience on parenting (i.e., number of prior children) is controversial. While some researchers find that prior experience is a significant determinant of the content of ideas on development and upbringing (Holloway & Hess, 1985; McGillicudy-DeLisi, 1982a, 1982b; Sigel, McGillicudy-DeLisi, & Johnson, 1980; Stevens, 1984), others offer data that contradict the importance of this variable on parenting (Alwin, 1984; Brooks-Gunn, 1985; Goodnow, 1985; Ninio, 1979).

Various reviews emphasize the complexity of the connections between educational beliefs and parental behavior. For example, Miller (1988) argues that although there is a relationship between what parents think and their behavior towards their children, the relationship is fairly modest for the most part and the research addressing this topic is both limited and not exempt from problems. For her part, Goodnow (1988) has indicated that congruency between parental beliefs and behavior is more likely to be found in certain people than in others, and is found more in some spheres than in others. She also indicates that, although there may be occasions when a certain idea is directly related to a certain action, it is more likely that one's action will result from a set of ideas. Sigel (1986) agrees with this view, emphasizing that one should not expect a one-to-one correspondence between parents' beliefs and their behavior. Rather, it is more likely that a certain number of ideas concurrently determine the course of the action. He uses the funnel metaphor to illustrate his thesis that a large set of ideas may result in a smaller number of actions.

To explore these different questions, we conducted a longitudinal research project which is still being carried out. A total of 139 married couples were solicited to participate when they attended the Maternity Hospital in Seville to have a child. The couples differed from each other in terms of their level of studies (low: primary education or less; medium: secondary studies but no college or university studies; high: university studies), their habitat (rural versus urban), and their degree of previous experience as parents (first child versus second or third child). With the exception of a few males who were between the ages of 30 and 35, the subjects of the sample chosen were between 25 and 30 years of age in order to minimize cohort differences.

To study parental beliefs about childrearing and child development we used a Parents' Ideas Questionnaire (PIQ). The PIQ consists of 106 questions designed to explore 11 different areas: information on pregnancy, upbringing and education; the capabilities attributed to the fetus, the baby and the child; the role of nature/nurture in determining psychological features; the mother–child relationship during pregnancy; the father's role in the upbringing and education of the child; the upbringing and education practices considered to be most appropriate; the causes to which determined behaviors are attributed; values, aspirations, and expectations; ideas on schooling; and ideas about family structure and composition.

The following is an example of the group of questions aimed at an exploration of upbringing and education practices considered to be most appropriate: "What do you think you would do if one day you saw your 4-year-old son or daughter playing with his or her genitals?" The following is an example of the group of questions relating to the causes to which behavior is attributed: "Why do you think that small children put everything in their mouths?" Finally, this is an example of questions designed to explore values, aspirations, and expectations: "What would you like your child to be like? What qualities would you like him/her to have?"

The parents' responses to the PIQ were analyzed using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) (Lebart & Morineau, 1984; Lebart, Morineau, & Warwick, 1984). This analysis strategy allows us to discover the dimensions or factors that can be used to group the items. The use of automatic classification techniques then permits the forming of clusters containing those individuals who are similar on the basis of previously established factors. The process uses a hierarchial type of algorithm for classification which goes on forming and adding groups according to their likeness. We know in the case of each of the classes thus formed to which of the previously detected factors it is related and which subjects of the sample belong to each of these.

CONTENT, STRUCTURE AND DETERMINANTS OF PARENTAL IDEAS

The use of MCA followed by cluster analysis revealed the existence of three basic groups of subjects, into which 86.3 percent of the sample subjects fall (the three classes into which the remaining subjects are grouped may be placed in relation to their proximity to the three most important classes).

The first of these classes includes 28.4 percent of our sample subjects, whom we have defined as *traditional parents.* This group consists of people with little information about pregnancy, upbringing, and education (for instance, 66 percent state that they have never read anything about these matters). They are not aware of the importance of the psychological aspects of pregnancy (for example, 86 percent base their answer on physical care when asked about the things that a pregnant woman can do in order to benefit her child), reveal innatist ideas (46 percent believe that the differences in linguistic competence between certain children and others is the consequence of hereditary factors), and see themselves as almost incapable of influencing the development of their child (30 percent believe that if a child is very timid, it is impossible for the parents to do anything to help him). They also are in favor of coercive educational practices (41 percent of the members of this class think that when a child plays with his or her genitals, he or she should be reprimanded or punished), have stereotyped ideas with regard to the sexes (61 percent of this group desire their sons to be very masculine and their daughters to be very feminine), and are minimally predisposed towards interaction with their child (72 percent consider that babies should be picked up as little as possible). Socially and demographically, 91 percent of these parents fall in the low education group and are from rural areas. The degree of probability that some of these types of responses may appear in this class by chance is, in the case of the 30 defining modalities of response, of the order of .0001.

The second of our classes (24.1 percent of our subjects) we have labeled *modern parents*, because of this group's opposition to the previous class. This group may be characterized by a series of ideas regarding development and education and by a series of social and demographic traits that may be broken down as follows. First, they defend the stance that individual differences are, to a certain degree, the result of the interaction between hereditary and environmental factors (64 percent believe that the intelligence of a child is the result of that interaction) and they are in favor of ideas that are not sex-stereotyped (87 percent of the members of this class believe there is no problem if their son is seen playing with a doll or their daughter with a toy pistol or a lorry). They also are permissive with regard to the upbringing and education of their children (94 percent believe that nothing should be done to alter the fact that their child is left-handed), are aware of the psychological aspects of interaction with their child, even those of the most precocious kind (43 percent believe that the pregnant woman should care for herself both psychologically as well as physically in order to benefit her child), their developmental expectations are optimistic (70 percent believe that a 1-year-old child can be told off because he is already capable of understanding things), and they believe that to a great extent they can influence what their child is going to become and the traits he or she is going to acquire (100 percent of the subjects in this class believe parents can influence a child in such a way that he will do well at school). With regard to social and demographic variables, 87 percent of this group has a high level of education, has a high professional level (45 percent are highly qualified specialists), and the majority (79 percent) of them live in the city. The probability that these modalities of responses are found in this cluster by chance is of the order of .0001.

Finally, the members of the third class may be catalogued as *paradoxical parents*. These persons represent 33.8 percent of our sample. These are people who reveal a high degree of search for knowledge (79 percent affirm having read literature concerning what children are like and how they should be brought up) although they have retained little of this information (49 percent recall nothing of what they have read or only recall its content very imprecisely). They appear as environmentalists (36 percent of the members of this class say that the differences between children are the result of their education), but it seems that in some cases they think that the influence of the environment is not under their control (23 percent think that the best way of helping a timid child is to introduce him to other children who may help him not to be so timid). With regard to their expectations concerning development, they have very optimistic expectations (50 percent believe that children begin to speak before they are nine months old), but it does not seem that the precociousness of their expectations leads to practices of interaction with their child in accordance with that precociousness (37 percent believe that things should begin to be explained to a child, or the child should be reasoned with, some time between 2 and 4 years of age). At times they show themselves as having stereotyped ideas (51 percent believe that it is bad to have an only child since he or she becomes spoiled), while at other times their ideas do not seem to be so stereotyped (10 percent believe that if their child wakes up crying during the night, it is the father who should go and see her or him).

With respect to the social and demographic variables, 47 percent of these parents have a medium level of education and 48 percent have a low level of education, they also belong to a middle professional bracket (19 percent work in clerical posts, for example) and they have previous experience as parents (at the time of being interviewed, 46 percent of them had just had their second child). The degree of possibility that the defining modalities of response within this class are the result of chance oscillates between .0001, in the case of some modalities, and .0006 in the case of others.

Since the cluster analysis provides us with information not only on the classes of individuals which exist, but also to which class each member of the sample belongs, we are better able to clarify the relationship between membership of one or another class and the sociodemographic variables that interest us. The most interesting data from this clarification are found in Table 9.3, which demonstrates the important role played by level of education and habitat (a factor closely related to the level of studies), and the minor role played by prior experience and sex.

These data permit us to reach some conclusions on the three questions tackled here: the structure, content, and determinants of parental ideas on development and upbringing of children.

With respect to the structure of ideas, the analysis of the subject classes enables us to confirm that the contents of the developmental-educational ideas

Table 9.3. Percentage of the Three Groups of Parents (traditional, paradoxical, modern) with Varying Educational Background, Previous Experience as Parent, Sex, and Place of Residence

	Traditional	Paradoxical	Modern
Level of education			
Low	91	48	3
Medium	8	47	10
High	1	5	87
Previous experience			
First child	57	38	52
2nd or 3rd child	43	62	48
Sex of parent			
Male	54	49	55
Female	46	51	45
Residence			
Rural	67	46	21
Urban	33	54	79

of parents are not unconnected with each other. To a large extent, these data corroborate those of McGillicuddy-DeLisi (1982a) in this respect: Parental ideas can be grouped into subsystems between which there is a certain degree of logical consistency. In some cases, these subsystems seem to be mutually well articulated, while in other cases, as Sigel (1986) maintains, this is not true to a great extent. In our case, traditional and modern parents show a considerable degree of articulation and coherence in their ideas. In contrast, paradoxical parents are those who show the most signs of a lack of correspondence between different sets of ideas. Pertaining to the content of the ideas, our data point in much the same direction as that of many researchers (Aiwin, 1984; Frankel & Roer-Bornstein, 1982; Hess et al., 1980; Lautrey, 1980; Tulkin & Cohler, 1973). Our data also demonstrate the existence of significant differences in content of beliefs among the members of some sociodemographic groups versus others.

Finally, regarding the determinants of parental ideas, our data confirm the crucial importance educational level plays as a determining variable. This is consistent with the findings of authors such as Alwin (1984), Bronfenbrenner, Alvarez, and Henderson (1984), Cashmore and Goodnow (1987), and Wright and Wright (1976). However, the relationships between the level of education and developmental-educational ideas are not linear, since although it is true that almost all modern parents have a high level of education and almost all traditional parents have a low level of education, the group of paradoxical parents is made up of people with both a low and a medium level of education.

The variable of professional status also bears a close relationship to ideas on development and education. However, there are at least three reasons why its role is not as clear and not as determinant as that of the level of education. First, there is a distortion introduced by the group of housewives, which is heterogenous and conceptually much less clearer than the rest, since women with very different lifestyles and levels of education are all equally considered housewives. In the second place, because in societies such as that of Spain in which unemployment is high, there are many people working in jobs that do not correspond to their professional qualifications. This is especially true of those with high and medium levels of education. A third reason, which is statistical and not a conceptual reason, is that both in the determination of the factors and the cluster analysis, educational level has come to acquire a weighting that is much heavier than that of professional status.

The close correspondence between residence in an urban or rural context in the case of traditional parents (basically rural) and modern parents (basically urban), as well as the distribution of paradoxical parents which is almost equally divided between rural and urban contexts, seems to us to clearly indicate the close relation between residence and educational level among Spaniards. Thus, what determines the class to which people belong is much more their level of education than their residence in the country or in the city, which is determined largely by their level of education.

Our data do not permit us to give a definite positive or negative answer to the controversial question of the role played by previous parental experience in the determination of parents' beliefs. What we have found is that there are groups of parents (traditional and modern) for whom prior parenting experience does not seem to play any significant role. In the case of some parents (the paradoxical group), this variable has an influence. Our interpretation is that this influence is due to the fact that the ideas of traditional and modern parents are based on factors that are clearly defined by traditional culture (traditional parents) or by the complexity of their own cognitive system (modern parents). In contrast, paradoxical parents are not anchored strongly either to traditional culture or to the complex cognitive system provided by lengthy schooling. Consequently, the variable of experience acquire significance in their case. Experience is not unequivocal and uniform, but rather is paradoxical and varying in its many different facets. This being the case, it fails to provide a clear organizational principle (tradition, the cognitive system) and engenders a degree of uncertainty in numerous paradoxes.

In addition, the minor role that prior parenting experience plays in our sample as a whole is confirmed, as we see it, by the lack of a relationship between the sex of the parents and the type of ideas they maintain. Given that women usually have a more active role in the upbringing of children and, in general, have greater contact with their children, if prior experience were to play a clearly determining role for our group of subjects, one could have expected differences between men and women. Such differences, in fact, have not appeared when the subjects were grouped into classes. In both men and women, the level of education appears to play a more determinant role.

Before proceeding to consider the relationship between ideas and educational behavior, it is interesting to point out that approximately two years after the first interview, 140 parents were studied again using the same questionnaire as that used when their children were born. Two years later, 61 percent of traditional parents, 73 percent of modern parents, and 62 percent of paradoxical parents continued to belong to the same class that they had been assigned to at the time of the first interview (chi-square (4) =67.67, *p*<.001; Moreno, 1991), showing a remarkable degree of continuity over time, especially bearing in mind that at least one aspect of the lives of these people had changed significantly, that is, their experience of bringing up a child for two years.

From Parental Beliefs to Educational Action

When the children born at the time of our first study were between 21 and 24 months old, their parents were visited at home (70 of the original 139 couples). Apart from repeating the PIQ, parent–child interactions centering on different situations (constructing a pyramid, reading a story, playing with everyday household materials) and the stimulation in the home was evaluated using the HOME scale (Caldwell & Bradley, 1984). Also, the children's developmental level was assessed using the Bayley mental development scale and their performance in various interaction situations. While it is possible to find more detailed explanations of our findings in other places (Palacios, González, & Moreno, 1990 and in press; González & Palacios, 1990), here we will limit ourselves to emphasizing the data obtained in a few homes, using book-reading situations, the HOME scale data, and the children's scores.

The homes referred to are those in which there is concordance in parental ideas; that is, both parents belong to the same class—traditional, paradoxical, or modern. This is the most sensible procedure because there are scores which can only refer to couples, such as stimulation in the home and the children's development scores. In our sample, 36 of the 70 couples are concordant: eight traditional couples, 20 paradoxical couples, and eight modern couples. Except in one case, all the modern concordant couples have a high level of studies; the concordant paradoxical parents are divided almost equally between the three levels of studies, low, medium, and high; most concordant traditional parents have a low level of studies, except for four with a medium level.

The analysis of interactions in the story-reading situation was carried out using Sigel's distinction between different types of distancing (Sigel & McGillicuddy-Delisi, 1984). Distancing demands are conducts which, through representation, distance the child to a greater or lesser degree from the immediately present and observable context. If while they look at the story the father says to the child, "Look, that flower is white," the distance between present stimulation and the mental process demanded of the child is minimal, since all the child has to do is look at the picture (low distancing). If the father says, "The flower is small, but the tree is very big," the child's task is not merely to look but also to relate and evaluate the relationship between stimuli that are present (medium distancing). Finally, if the father asks, "Where do you think this bird lives, in the flower or in the tree?", the child's representation has to transcend what is immediately present, inferring, evaluating, imagining (high distancing). In general, the higher the distancing from the real situation, the more stimulating the interactions. However, the stimulation value of an interaction does not depend on the stimulation itself but on its adjustment to the capacity of those receiving it. Therefore, it seems reasonable to think that for children about two years of age, such as those in our sample, low distancing can be sufficiently stimulating, since demands such as those of looking, labeling, describing, and so on, are well adjusted to their needs and capacities.

Following Sigel's proposals, apart from content, the form of the interactions is important in determining their stimulation value. Thus, he distinguishes between interaction in the affirmative (telling), which simply requires that the child pay attention to the information given, and interactions in the interrogative form (asking), in which the child is asked to go through a determined mental process instead of leading the child.

Table 9.4 shows the values obtained by traditional, paradoxical, and modern parents in the different stimulation variables. As can be seen, if all the interactions involving distancing are taken into account (in the asking or telling form), a low level of distancing is predominant in all parents, which is logical given the

Table 9.4. Stimulation Received by Children of Traditional, Paradoxical and Modern Parents.

	Low Dist. (total)	Medium-High dist. (total)*	Low Dist. (asking)*	Cycles with Asking*	Home
Traditional	17.62	2.31	6.62	6.06	26.12
	(9.30)	(2.82)	(4.44)	(3.35)	(3.40)
Paradoxical	21.55	4.90	7.82	7.20	30.75
	(8.12)	(3.14)	(5.52)	(4.81)	(4.21)
Modern	22.00	2.87	11.06	10.06	32.25
	(7.92)	(4.24)	(5.05)	(4.40)	(3.25)

NOTE: Group standard deviations are in parentheses.
$^{*}p\ (df = 2,69) < .05$
$^{**}p\ (df = 2,69) < .001$

age of the children. Thus, there are no significant differences here between groups (F (2,69) = 1.48, p = .23). The interactions involving medium and high distancing are infrequent and the most notable score is that of the paradoxical parents, who obtain higher means scores (F (2,69) = 4.32, p< .05).

If we concentrate on the interactions with a low level of distancing and analyze whether they have been carried out in the form of telling or asking, we see that the frequency of asking (the most stimulating form) increases from traditional to paradoxical parents and from these to modern (F (2,69) = 3.24, p < .05). Modern parents again differ significantly from traditional and paradoxical parents when we take into consideration the presence of the asking form in the different cycles of the interaction (a cycle is made up of all the parent–child interactions relating to the same illustrations of the story). Modern parents use the asking form more consistently throughout the task (F (2,69) = 3.57, p < .05). This means that modern parents ask their children more questions and maintain the asking conduct more consistently throughout the interaction.

To evaluate the role of parental level of studies and the gender of both parents and child, analyses of variance were carried out which showed that neither of these two variables, whether isolated or in interaction with parental ideas, had a significant effect on the dependent measures considered.

Table 9.4 also shows that modern parents had the highest scores on the HOME scale (F (2,69) = 11.571, p < .001). Once again, analyses using ANOVA showed that neither the parental level of studies nor the level of studies by ideas interaction was significant.

The children's scores reflect the differences in stimulation which they receive. Table 9.5 contains the mental development scores measured on the Bayley scale as well as the total number of words produced by the children throughout the reading of the story. In both cases, differences are observed as a function of

Table 9.5. Scores of Children of Traditional, Modern and Paradoxical Parents.

	Mental Development (Bayley)**	Total Number of Words*
Traditional	103.47 (15.19)	26.62 (15.93)
Paradoxical	114.60 (15.91)	39.95 (30.46)
Modern	122.62 (18.07)	54.75 (18.02)

NOTE: Group standard deviations are in parentheses.
*p (df = 2,69) < .01
**p (df = 2,69) < .01

parental ideas (Bayley: F (2,69) = 5.69, $p < 0.01$; Total number of words: F (2,69) = 4.87, $p = 0.01$).

CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the clearest conclusion to be stressed is that, being a Western society, Spanish society is conspicuous for its variety: variety in lifestyles, in the values it maintains, in the size of its families, in its thoughts on the development and upbringing of its children, and in its way of organizing its everyday educational environment. Far from being completely traditional or completely modern, Spanish society is a complex society in which different ideological and material realities coexist. It is also a society undergoing a process of change, a society in which phenomena which were previously unknown are now appearing (for example, a higher educational level in women, a rising divorce rate, a growing trend towards sending children to school earlier, etc.). No doubt these will affect the structure of the family and relationships among its components.

When it comes to parent–child relationships, the most striking feature is probably the heavy weighting of the family context in the first years of development of the child. The mother is the basic guarantor of the fact that the life of the average Spaniard under four revolves around the home. The relatively low rate of incorporation of women into the world of work, the existence of legislation aimed at supporting the role of the mother and minimal development of care alternatives distinct from the traditional ones, and the stability of marriage contribute to the present state of affairs. The survival of an ideology in favor of bringing children up at home during their earliest years may also have some influence, although if, as Marx maintained (1906), it is living conditions that create consciousness and not vice-versa, such an ideology may merely be the consequence of a certain form of social organization in which the father is the breadwinner while the wife stays at home to look after the children.

Also, being a Western society, and considering the topics we have dealt with in this chapter, Spanish society is an unequal society. Not all children grow up in family environments which are equally favorable or equally promote development. These basic differences are related to the socioeconomic variables of the parents, principally to their educational level. As we have shown in this chapter, the different educational levels are related to parental ideas on the development and upbringing of children, and these ideas in turn are closely related to the form in which parents stimulate their children and the developmental levels which they reach at a very early age. The consequences of this can be observed in children at an early age and their later experiences will tend to intensify the differences rather than reduce or mitigate them.

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10

Families in Puerto Rico: An Analysis of the Socialization Process from a Macrostructural Perspective

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A macrostructural analysis of the socialization process of children in Puerto Rican families must consider the social changes in structure, functions, and lifestyles that affect contemporary Puerto Rican families. In this chapter, we examine relationships between the Puerto Rican social context, family structure, and role relations as well as the influence of these variables on childrearing practices. We also present empirical data supporting an eclectic theoretical perspective for explaining the heterogeneity of Puerto Rican families and their socialization processes.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Puerto Rico is an island in the Caribbean Sea with a geographical area of 3,423 square miles and a population of 3,275,600 people. The language is Spanish and its ethnic backgrounds are Taino Indian, which means "the good ones", Spanish, and African (Babin, 1970). Formerly a possession of Spain, Puerto Rico was acquired by the United States following the Spanish American war. Hence, the values and lifestyles of the upper and middle classes have been heavily influenced by the United States. Because of these historical antecedents, cultural diversity among Puerto Ricans is high, reflecting a special adherence to particular values that mirror the uniqueness of its formation as a country (Alvarado, 1967).

Demographic trends in the Puerto Rican society indicate that people are living longer and that, although general fertility rates have decreased, adolescents and young women have higher fertility rates compared to other women in the population. Parallel to these trends has been an increase in illegitimate births, 17.1 percent of these to adolescents. Pregnancy during adolescence results in additional stress that may lead to emotional and socioeconomic consequences for the young mother and her family (Lizardi, 1988). Other demographic changes include a greater participation of women in the workforce and in an increasingly urban-based population.

The rapid transformation of the Puerto Rican economy from an agricultural to an industrial economy has caused many social problems. Unemployment, poverty, mental health disorders, domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and criminality are the most prominent ones.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

In the rural-agrarian society, families in Puerto Rico depended on an extended family structure. Strong affective ties developed within an informal support system that consisted primarily of relatives and neighbors who lived in the same community. Although families primarily were responsible for socializing children, this stable, homogeneous, supportive system played an integral role in children's social development.

With the advent of industrialization, many families migrated to the cities seeking employment opportunities. One direct consequence of these changes was the emergence of an urban middle class (Lizardi, 1983). Coming to the cities resulted in the loss of the informal support network with all its assistance in child rearing. Consequently, the family structure became typically nuclear, although it retained some characteristics of the extended family system at a functional level (Ortiz-Archilla, 1985). Many families formed new informal support systems, but other families had to depend more on formal support systems (e.g., nurseries and day care centers) for child care assistance.

Currently, a modified nuclear family structure is prevalent in Puerto Rico although social connections with the family of orientation are maintained to some extent. Family size has been decreasing and, although differences exist across geographical areas, by 1980, it averaged four members. Families living in the cities are smaller (3.7 members) than families living in rural (4.3) and rural/urban areas (3.9), respectively. The average number of children in families has fallen (from 2.7 children in 1960 to 1.9 in 1980) and the number of extended family members living in the home has been reduced (Váquez-Calzada, 1988).

Marriage remains commonplace among Puerto Rican families although increasingly divorce and consensual unions (i.e., cohabitation) have become common. Puerto Rico has one of the highest divorce rates (42% in 1986) in the world, with divorce being more common in urban than in rural areas and more common during the first five years of marriage (Vázquez-Calzada, 1988; Vital Statistics, 1988). In San Juan, the capital city, 30 percent of families are female-headed (Sánchez-Ayendez et al., 1987).

Employment among both married and divorced women is commonplace and in 11 percent of families the wife's salary is the primary source of income (Quiñones, 1976; Sánchez-Ayendez et al., 1987; Vázquez-Calzada, 1987). Although working women play an increasing role in decision making, cultural expectations enjoin that the married working woman play a subserviant role to her husband whether or not he is employed (Rivera, 1988). As is the case among other Western industrialized nations, divorced mothers play the dual roles of breadwinner and primary socializing agent of children.

Families in Puerto Rico are by no means homogeneous as changes in both the roles of family members and the family have led to increasing diversity. Basic functions such as nurturance, socialization, provision of emotional support and economic resources, control of behavior (including sexual behavior), locating members in the social class structure, and stabilizing adult personalities remain the most salient functions of the family (Berlson & Steiner, 1964; Parsons, 1955; Ortiz-Archilla, 1985). Moreover, the family's diversity reflects its historical background as an institution (Zaretsky, 1974) as well as contemporary demands. The family continues to be a unique social institution that offers its members the continuity necessary for its members to function effectively as members of the larger society.

SOCIALIZATION—CHILDREARING PRACTICES

Childrearing practices in Puerto Rico result from the historical integration of the three primary cultures (Taíno, Spanish, and North American) operative in Puerto Rico. These influences are reflected in the expectations for and roles played by mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters. The Taíno social structure was matrilinear and sex roles were fairly egalitarian, although fathers socialized sons while mothers socialized daughters (Acosta 1979; Mellado, 1968). With Spanish influence, a patriarchal, highly sex-segregated social structure developed. Children were socialized to obey and respect their father's will and women were expected to play a subordinate role to their fathers and husbands. Men enjoyed greater freedom, were expected to be good breadwinners, and were responsible for protecting the honor of the family. The Catholic ethic reinforced monogamy, as well as the cults of virginity among women, and virility (*machismo*) among men. In turn, North American culture emphasized individual achievement, pragmatism, empiricism, and a more democratic orientation towards role relations among family members.

Childrearing practices in Puerto Rico are influenced by the sex of the child although differences emerge due to parents' education, social class, marital status, and place of residence. Generally, the female role is more restrictive and girls are socialized into a narrowly structured role. For example, girls are permitted little aggressive behavior (Christensen, 1979), a factor that may be reflected in nondirect, manipulative forms of behavior (López-Garriga, 1978). Little latitude is permitted for females, particularly in the areas of social and vocational behavior, in contrast to boys. In heterosexual relationships, male children are socialized to be virile, a pattern consistent with the *machismo* tradition that includes proving his masculinity through sexual conquests, physical encounters, and heavy drinking (Christensen, 1979).

Cultural expectations place a heavy burden on women, as children are more dependent on them. Simultaneously, traditional cultural expectations are that women are emotional and dependent persons whose lives revolve around their husbands' wishes and behaviors (Lewis, 1970; Safa, 1974; Wolf, 1952). Subordination and submission constitute an ideology that has its roots in the socioeconomic and political spheres in which women historically have been subjected to sex-based double standards. Although currently women no longer are as accepting of these subordinate roles, this ideology is very deeply ingrained in women's self-definition of what a wife, mother, and housewife ought to be and the way she should act in behalf of her family. This has led to ideological contradictions regarding sex roles, contradictions that influence contemporary Puerto Rican childrearing practices. As a result children are being socialized in a family that is in transition toward more egalitarian sex roles.

EMPIRICAL DATA

Early studies of childrearing practices in Puerto Rico were conducted by North American anthropologists and sociologists during the 1950s (Stefani, 1956; Steward, 1972; Wolf, 1952) and reflected traditional childrearing patterns held mostly by agrarian families and urban low-income families. A common finding was that there was a clear-cut differentiation of statuses, roles, and authority patterns. The father was the principal breadwinner and the sole authority of the home, while the mother was responsible for taking care of all the household tasks and the children. In poor families, oldest siblings or women relatives helped with the care of smaller children. An extended family structure was prevalent. The female child was reared mostly in the inner activities of the home while the male children were reared with a more outer-oriented style (i.e., fields, neighborhood).

Wolf (1952) studied children from three social classes (Manicaboa, a small farmers' community in the highlands; Poyal, a sugar landless workers' community; and San José, a small, middle-class, rural town) and found important similarities as well as differences in childrearing practices. Strong taboos against children's open aggression were found among the landless and small farmers both of whom emphasized mutual aid and courtesy. Poor and lower-class mothers were tolerant and permissive with their children in the areas of toilet training, feeding, and cleanliness. Middle-class children were socialized differently. They were more dependent on their mothers or other adult women (i.e., a grandmother or nursemaid who served as the primary caregiver) and their parents were less consistent in toilet training and feeding. Bottlefeeding replaced breastfeeding among mothers who worked outside the house.

These families shared some value orientations, such as religiosity, but also differed in several areas. Familism was a common value, especially among the landless families, and care for children was a concern to all families. Obedience was found to be strongly valued, particularly in the small farmer family. Paternal affection was expressed more openly in the landless families as the father had more time, due to his seasonal work, to interact with his children. Similarly, Landy (1965) found that poor rural parents emphasized traditional roles, dependency, and obedience, especially among girls. Although physical punishment was frequently used by both parents, mothers employed physical punishment more often. Rewards were infrequent and were used inconsistently. Ridicule was fairly common and was used to produce obedient and humble children (Landy, 1965).

The roles that urban mothers, whose roles are less traditional, play in their children's socialization also have been examined. For example, Cruz (1968) studied childrearing patterns among 240 families living in an urban public housing project and concluded that mothers were the most important person in task-oriented socialization. Discipline was mainly the mother's job but was less structured in female-headed families.

It is evident that although marital role relationships have been changing, there is still traditionalism in role definition between the sexes. For example, Quiñones, (1976) found in her study of families of working mothers (n = 130), that although husbands shared some household tasks with their wives and children, a sex-typed division of labor was the predominant pattern. Fathers' participation in household tasks was positively related to their educational background, a pattern confirmed in Vázquez-Rodríquez et al.'s (1979) study.

CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT

The most comprehensive study of childrearing practices in Puerto Rico was conducted by Vázquez-Rodríquez et al. (1979). These researchers explored the differential effects of childrearing practices on children's development in an islandwide sample of 387 mothers. Both the geographical (metropolitan, town, rural) and social class (upper-, middle-, and lower-class) distributions of families were considered. In all families, the mother continued to be the parent who spent the most time with the child, particularly in the first months after birth.

Childrearing practices were assessed in terms of (a) discipline and control, (b) control of aggression, (c) cleanliness, (d) modesty, (e) handling sex, (f) dependency, (g) participation of the child in conversation with adults (relative and nonrelatives), (h) rewards and praises, and (i) care and supervision. For the categories a to e, three predominant styles in childrearing emerged: lax-passive or highly permissive without maternal indifference; didactive-verbal, where parents explained and reasoned with the child; and authoritarian, typical of parents who used punishment, scolding, either physical or verbal aggression, or verbal aggression with no reasoning. Children's development in the areas of physical, self help, social, academic, and communication was measured using an adapted version of Alpern and Boll's Developmental Profile.

There were inconsistencies between parents' childrearing beliefs and their behavior. For example, while mothers overwhelmingly thought that breastfeeding the child was the best thing to do, only 25 percent breastfed the child for one month or more in spite of the fact that the majority of the mothers were at home. Similarly, despite the fact that mothers believed that pacifiers were no good for children, they relied on them. Maternal tolerance was also inconsistent across the areas studied. Mothers were tolerant with children when they cried during the night, wet their beds, and during toilet training. They were, however, intolerant in all matters related to sex including masturbation, sexual play, and uttering of bad words. The physical authoritarian approach was used by the mother to handle these situations. Moreover, although mothers were tolerant of aggression even among very young children, mothers used physical punishment to control aggressive behavior. Class differences emerged in maternal tolerance for aggressive behaviors, with lower class mothers being less tolerant of aggression and more concerned with immediate obedience than aggression control. Immediate obedience was also valued among middle-class mothers and threats and punishment were frequent among this group.

Social class differences also emerged in other childrearing practices. Overall, the authoritarian-physical childrearing style, a style reinforced by Puerto Rican culture, was the most common approach used in all three socioeconomic groups. However, use of the authoritarian approach was negatively related to mothers' level of education: Better educated mothers preferred the didactic verbal style to discipline both for control of aggression and for handling modesty. Among families with lower educational levels, lower status occupations, and lower socioeconomic status, mothers tended to use the authoritarian physical style to handle discipline, modesty, cleanliness, sex, and to control aggression. Praise and rewards for children's achievements were given more frequently by upper class mothers, were less frequent in lower class mothers, and were administered inconsistently by middle-class mothers.

Differences also emerged among women based on their employment status. Mothers in female-headed households and working mothers tended to use the authoritarian physical style for discipline and for handling matters related to sex, but used the didactive verbal style to deal with cleanliness. Working mothers had a tendency to protect and support their children, to praise and reward them more, and to provide care and active supervision. This pattern illustrates the fact that many Puerto Rican women are making adaptations and role redefinitions in order to raise their children effectively.

An analysis of the differential effects of childrearing practices on children's development elaborated that style differences on the Child Participation and the Rewards and Praise Indices were associated with significant differences in Physical, Self-help, Social, Academic, and Communication areas. Also Discipline and Control childrearing practices were linked to differences in the children's physical and social development.

These patterns were related to the mother's use of the authoritarian style in childrearing. Specifically, before children reach two years of age, there is a tendency among mothers to use the didactive verbal style in dealing with discipline and cleanliness. When children are 3 years old, mothers begin to use the authoritarian-physical style. Additionally, rewards and praises are given freely until the child is 3 years old and become less frequent as the child gets older. All of this occurs as the child is gaining more independence and exploring the house environment. Interestingly, children's overall development was found to be related positively to the consistent and systematic use of rewards and praise for desirable behavior.

CHILDREARING PATTERNS AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

A number of investigators have examined relationships between childrearing experiences and problem behavior in children. For example, Alicea (1985) compared delinquent and nondelinquent adolescents and concluded that the presence of both parents in the family structure and in the home (even when one of them was not the biological parent), and consistent disciplinary methods were important factors in helping children (11–13-year-old adolescents) to make positive adjustments at school. Discipline and school problems (including suspension from school) were associated with inadequate parental control of adolescents' behavior as manifested in going out of the house without permission, coming home late, smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, and fighting with peers. Similarly, Figueroa (1985) studied the aggressive behavior of 200 children between the ages of 9 and 12 years, and found that children's aggression was associated with both parents or caretakers modeling aggressive behavior at home. In 56 percent of these families, quarrels and physical and verbal aggression were very frequent. These families also presented alcohol abuse and health problems. Children in these families felt that parents and caretakers loved them. When children achieved certain goals or behaved well they were positively reinforced. However, when children had academic or interactional problems at school they were hit by their parents (42%), punished and scolded (30%), and yelled at and criticized (29%). Thus, physical abuse and emotional neglect tended to demean children's self-esteem.

THEORETICAL INTEGRATION

The evolution of Puerto Rican families and the changes in their social context suggest the appropriateness of an eclectic theoretical perspective. Culture conflict theory (Turk, 1975) provides one useful construct for explaining how Puerto Rican families have been influenced by Spanish and North American dominance. This theory predicts that the subordinate culture assimilates patterns of the dominant culture. This prediction is not totally borne out among Puerto Rican families as there are deeply rooted subordinate culture values to which families remain faithful. These values lend cultural coherence and identity to families in Puerto Rico. For example, Alvarado (1967), in her analysis of the changing values of the Puerto Rican culture, identified the dignity of the human being, a positive attitude toward life including love, assertion of the Puerto Rican identity, a sense of humor, deep faith in education, and family life as highly valued. Relationships among these values are illustrated in Table 10.1.

Vázquez-Rodríquez (1970) traced the history and evolution of self-determination as a basic value in the Puerto Rican society, while Alvarez-Burgos (1972)

Table 10.1. Value Orientations by Domains

Domains	Value Orientations
1. Interactional	Hospitality
	Familism
	Respect for Others
	Obedience
2. Intrapersonal	Dignity
	Self-worth
	Honesty
	Loyalty
3. Behavioral	Praise—Criticism
	Autonomy (Independence-Dependence)
	Self-Determination (Self-Assertiveness)
	Expressiveness
4. Spiritual	Religiosity
	Filial Responsibility
	Friendship
	Compassionate
	Gratefulness
5. Emotional	Affectiveness
	Positive Sense of Humor
	Care

made a comparative analysis of this concept using Kluckhon's value orientation scheme. Some differences were identified between low-income Puerto Rican families and the middle-class families in the United States with regard to the orientation of man-nature, time, activity, and relationship orientation. Puerto Rican low-income families showed more subjugation to nature, a present time orientation, an activity of being-in-becoming, and a collateral relational orientation. In contrast, middle-class families in the United States exhibited more concern of mastery over nature, were more future-oriented, had a doing-activity orientation, and held an individualistic relational orientation.

Macrostructural changes in the social context of families in Puerto Rico can be analyzed from the economic theory of dependent development. It has been posited that capitalist countries have achieved their development at the expense of peripheral or less developed countries causing dependency and stagnation of the economy of these countries (Catalá-Oliveras, 1985). Since the 1940s, the Puerto Rican economy has shown significant growth in total output and income (Dietz, 1986). There have been improvements in health, education, communication, and housing, among other areas. Manufacturing, as a key sector of the economy, contributes more than 50 percent to Puerto Rico's Gross National Product (GNP). The Puerto Rican economy remains, however, closely linked to the United States' economy, and the economic development strategies implemented in the 1940s have been unable to achieve fully a better distribution of wealth. This failure is evidenced by the high level of unemployment and the huge percentage of families living under the poverty level and dependent on individual transfer payments from the United States federal government. The absence of linkages within the Puerto Rican local economy makes it disconnected from other economic sectors causing a lack of a self-directed process (Albanese, 1989; Catala, 1985; Dietz, 1986, 1976). These factors influence the patterns of interactions seen among individuals in Puerto Rican society.

From an ecological standpoint, families are in continuous transactions with their environment. The lack of reciprosity in people's coping capacities for problem solving and environmental inadequacies (i.e., social organization, informal support system, socioeconomic and political structures, niches, and physical settings) brings maladaption to family life (Germaine et al., 1988). Finally, the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotypes in Puerto Rico, as well as unplanned urbanism, and structural and cyclical unemployment are obstacles for enhancing better family adaptations (e.g., Dubos, 1982; Hartmann, 1958).

Symbolic interactionist theory offers some insight into integrating social structured and interpersonal factors and their joint influence on children's development. This theory postulates that the self and society are interdependent, that reality is socially construed, that interaction with others is the process by which the rules and roles of society are learned, and that what we generically label "the process of socialization" is not one but a series of processes (Bengtston, 1977; Berger & Kellner, 1964; Ortiz-Archilla, 1981; Rose, 1979). According to this theory, the self is social and arises, in childhood, through symbolic interaction with significant others (Cooley, 1971). The importance of mothers in the socialization process of Puerto Rican children is the result of cultural definitions, symbolic meanings, and the important role the mother plays in helping the child throughout development. While fathers are increasingly participating in childrearing, the primary responsibility remains the mothers'.

System theory (Buckley, 1969) and its concepts of boundary, structure, subsystems, morphogenesis-morphostasis, entropy and synergy, steady state, and feedback also are very useful in the analysis of families in Puerto Rico. Traditional boundaries of the all-encompassing extended family system have been dramatically changed to smaller family size units. It is evident that families in Puerto Rico are morphogenetic as the family structure and functions have been changing according to increasing environmental demands. However, families are also reluctant to give up certain traditions, rituals, and values as observed in family practices. Puerto Rican families are in constant oscillation with societal forces as family members receive new information and feedback. Thus, some families are dealing with internal and societal stressors in their daily living transactions that may hinder the family's optimal social functioning.

Nevertheless, families in Puerto Rico have their own strengths and synergy. The well-being of children is a very important goal within the family. Many family activities are directed toward helping the child throughout the various phases of the socialization process. Familism and loyalty to one own's family also are cherished interpersonal values in Puerto Rican families. Linkages with members of the extended family in the arrangement of care for children is an important adaptation to a demanding environment with challenges to the family's synergetic capabilities. The bonding of familial ties in difficult instances such as sickness, sudden death, or other family stressors brings cohesiveness and solidarity to the family as it proves its internal strengths.

Role and power theories are useful theoretical constructs to explain the social processes within the family as a social system. Role theory facilitates the analysis of real life behavior as it unfolds in ongoing social situations. Role expectations are based on a level of consensus among individuals in a network of complementary roles (Sarbin & Allen, 1968). Cultural definitions of the status of mother, father, wife, and husband have been changing at different paces across the generations. Although some acceptance of nontraditional roles for women is taking place in Puerto Rican families, traditional sex-role stereotypes dominate. The lack of consensus in expectations about role relations has brought uncertainty and family conflicts as evidenced by the high rates of divorce and mental health problems. An analysis of power relationships in the Puerto Rican family shows that as women enter the labor force power relations in their homes change. Such changes allow for new, hopefully egalitarian, modes of family relationships.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Sociodemographic, political, and economic factors point to a complex and heterogeneous social context in Puerto Rico. The change from an agrarian to an industrial society, compressed in only four decades, has not occurred without social problems. These social problems have impinged the quality of life of contemporary Puerto Rican families. Parent–child relations have also been influenced by these rapid social changes. Puerto Rican families exhibit subcultural variations in their childrearing practices. A set of deep-rooted cultural values gives coherence to the Puerto Rican culture and serves as a frame of reference for family functioning.

A number of changes are necessary in order to facilitate the goals of socialization. There is a need for more family research, particularly to identify family typologies and to gain a greater understanding of Puerto Rican families by using subcultural samples. Similarly, a comprehensive family policy with provisions for the entire family life cycle is of utmost importance to guarantee higher standards of living for children as well as for other sectors of the population. School curricula should be revised so as to include content about the positive and negative factors affecting Puerto Rican families. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico should allocate more funds to those programs that are offering family services. These programs should develop innovative strategies to reach out earlier to those families who are presenting difficulties in their transactions with their sociophysical environment. Educational campaigns, at a community level of interchange with the families, should be emphasized to assess families and their socialization of children.

It is envisioned that Puerto Rican families will continue to move towards diversity in their structures and functions. Proper linkages between informal and formal support systems will be essential. Novel intrafamilial and interfamilial arrangements are expected as there will be a great need for more networking among informal support systems. Family transactions with formal support systems will increase as the family continues to share some of its functions with these social systems such as schools, nurseries, church, and the government. Sustaining efforts with both systems will be necessary for granting Puerto Rican families and their children an environment that both is conducive to an optimal social functioning and that fosters the quality of living.

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11

Mother–Infant Interactions of Haitian Immigrants and Black Americans Living in Miami

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CHILDREARING PATTERNS AMONG HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS AND BLACK AMERICANS LIVING IN MIAMI

Very little is known about the childrearing patterns of Haitian immigrants and black Americans living in Miami except those patterns reported by the anthropologist Weidman (1978) who conducted an extensive household survey in the Miami neighborhoods of these groups. Thus, much of the background material on these Miami subcultures is anecdotal. Nonetheless, the Weidman observations provide an important context for the study of mother–infant interactions in these cultures.

While we recognize that these groups may not be the appropriate comparison groups for studying interaction problems, the Haitians and American blacks are the lowest income groups in Miami and they share the same neighborhoods. The reason we studied these two groups was because they were being compared in a larger blood pressure heritability study that focused on black cultures because of their higher incidence of hypertension. For this blood pressure study it was considered desirable to compare native with immigrant black individuals. However, the fact that both these groups are black is only a superficial similarity. Ethnically, the groups are likely to differ because their ancestry dates back to different

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African peoples. Culturally, the groups differ in many ways, language among them, but also in the predominant culture in which they were raised. For example, the Haitians come from a French colonial origin but they were not an ethnic minority in their country of origin; they became an ethnic and cultural minority when they arrived in the United States. The sociological and psychological implications of these different experiences are considerable, although they are beyond the scope of this study. The other similarity, namely that both groups are poor, may also be superficial given that poverty has many faces. For example, the Southern black American mothers are eligible for Aid for Dependent Children and other sources of welfare that are not extended to the Haitian mothers. On the other hand, the Haitian laborer has experienced more success on the Miami job force than the Southern black American laborer. Thus, while both groups are poor, the source of income in one case is welfare and in the other it is labor.

The Southern blacks in Miami are at a particular disadvantage as their upward mobility is blocked by large numbers of lower-income Latin groups who are more frequently employed by their middle-income "countrymen" who prefer Spanish-speaking employees dealing with Latin American customers. Most Southern black women living in Miami raise their children in extended families that are typically on public assistance. The children, particularly when they are infants, are much appreciated and, for the very young mother, are much like playthings. The mother will go without food or clothes herself in order to provide these for the baby. However, the American black mother believes that a child is easily spoiled by too much attention, by being held and carried and by being praised. She refrains from doing these things and typically leaves the baby unattended, often on a bed, for long periods of time (Weidman, 1978).

In a study on the early feeding and face-to-face interactions of American black mother–infant dyads living in Miami we noted significantly inferior interaction patterns in this group (Field & Widmayer, 1981). In this case the interaction patterns of the American black mother and her infant were compared to Latin groups of equivalent socioeconomic status (SES) including Puerto Rican, Cuban, and a heterogeneous South American group. Almost uniformly, the black mothers and their infants were rank-ordered lowest on face-to-face and feeding interaction ratings. The black mothers showed less infantized behavior, less contingent responsivity, less infant game playing, and less talking to their infants during their face-to-face interactions. The infants themselves may have contributed to the low ratings given that they showed fewer positive facial expressions and greater fussiness than the other groups of infants. Similarly, on the feeding interaction ratings, the black mothers showed a more depressed/anxious state, they were less active, and they showed more frequent head aversion during feedings. In turn, their infants showed more frequent squirming and received lower summary ratings on the feeding interactions. Surprisingly, these inferior ratings emerged despite the fact that these groups of mothers were of similar age, education, parity, and SES (including lifestyle and living conditions) and lived in the same neighborhood for a number of years. Clearly, additional research is needed to explore the origins of the low SES black mothers' inferior interaction behaviors.

Similarly, very little is known about the interactions of Haitian mothers and their infants. Large numbers of Haitian women have moved to Miami over the last several years and become pregnant, ensuring their right to stay in the United States. However, because of cultural prohibitions concerning male physicians and fear of reprisal for attempting to obtain status for themselves through the delivery of American offspring, these women infrequently seek prenatal care (Weidman, 1978). Generally, they present themselves in labor in the emergency room of the local county hospital. Very few of the hospital staff speak Creole or can communicate with these women. Haitian mothers report that they feel people are hostile toward them, particularly in the hospital and well-baby clinics, where they go infrequently and only when their infants are very sick (Charles, 1980).

The interactions of Haitian mothers with their infants, while limited by American middle-class standards, are generally noted to be positive (Weidman, 1978). Infants who are more difficult, colicky, or have physical problems, however, are considered "unlucky," and the mothers' interactions with these infants are more impaired. In the Weidman survey a disproportionate incidence of failure-to-thrive was also reported for Haitian infants (Weidman, 1978). Some have attributed this to disturbed interactions while others suggest that failure-to-thrive may also be related to the infant feeding practices of Haitian mothers.

While the majority of Haitian mothers living in Haiti reportedly breastfeed their infants, the Haitian women emigrating to Miami do not. Community leaders suggest that the women do not breastfeed because they are anxious to be assimilated into American culture and feel that nursing their infants is "less modern" (Charles, 1980). There may also be some interference with the "let-down reflex," possibly related to excessive anxiety in these mothers. Other factors that may explain their bottlefeeding practice is their modeling their behavior after their black American neighbors, who also bottlefeed their infants, or their not being encouraged or taught to breastfeed during the lying-in period because of the paucity of Creole-speaking maternity nurses.

We have anecdotally observed waiting room interactions that suggest that the feeding interactions of Haitian mothers and their infants are quite different from those of Southern black Americans. Haitian mothers typically do not cradle their infants and often position them almost upright and facing outward on their laps. The mothers rarely look at their infants during the feeding but rather appear to "stare off into space," looking indifferent, and often anxious or depressed. The bottle is frequently held parallel to the infant's stomach, preventing the liquid from successfully reaching the infant. Squirming by the infant and other signs of frustration at failing to secure the nipple, as well as cessation of sucking are often unnoticed or not responded to by the mother. This strikingly different feeding interaction behavior, coupled with the disproportionate number of Haitian infants admitted to our hospital for dehydration and failure-to-thrive, stimulated our interest in this problem.

EMPIRICAL COMPARISONS OF HAITIAN AND BLACK AMERICAN MOTHER–INFANT INTERACTIONS

As part of a larger study on the heritability of blood pressure in native and immigrant black adults and their twin offspring, an exploratory study was conducted on the feeding and face-to-face interactions of Haitian and Southern black American mother–infant dyads. Preliminary observations of their videotaped interactions suggested that the Haitian dyads had more harmonious face-to-face interactions but more difficult feeding interactions than the black American dyads. Their difficult feeding interactions in turn may contribute to the disproportionate numbers of Haitian infants admitted to Miami hospitals (Weidman, 1978). Thus, this study was conducted to more closely investigate the nature of those differences.

In the present study the feeding and face-to-face interaction behaviors of Haitian mother–infant dyads were compared to those of black American mother–infant dyads living in the same low-income neighborhood in Miami. Only twin infants were sampled in these two groups. It is possible that the birth of twins might be more devastating for the Haitian mothers than for the Southern black American mothers because the Haitian mothers are less well established in this country and may have fewer financial and social resources to cope with twins. Moreover, twinship may have a different cultural meaning in the two groups. Despite the extensive anthropological study conducted by Weidman (1978) on these two groups, no reference was made to different cultural attitudes about twins. Twins were the sample available to us, and in the absence of a singleton comparison group, twinning remains a potentially confounding variable. Each mother was videotaped with each of her twins. In addition, because relationships have been noted between early interactions and growth and development in later infancy (Field et al., 1978; Field, Widmayer, Greenberg, & Stoller, 1982), we also assessed the infants' growth and their performance on the Bayley developmental assessments when the infants were 12 months old.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

The sample included 10 Haitian mothers and their 20 twins (8 pairs being monozygotic). This sample was compared to a group of 10 black Americans and their 20 twins (again 8 pairs being monozygotic). Both groups were subsamples of a larger sample of mothers and twins recruited for a blood pressure heritability study. In order to control for the potential bias of different birth characteristics, the black American twins were matched to the Haitian infants on gestational age and birthweight. For the Haitian and black American infants, mean gestational age was 38.7 and 39.1 weeks respectively, mean birthweight was 2665 and 2710 grams, and mean Ponderal Index was 2.7 and 2.6. All mothers were primiparous and of low socioeconomic status (*M* = 4.5 on the Hollingshead two-factor index) and the majority were living in father-absent, extended-family households. The groups did not differ on these background variables including SES level except that the primary source of income differed for the two groups with the black American group receiving welfare assistance and the Haitian group receiving income as laborers.

The mothers were recruited at the birth of their twins and invited to participate in a one-year longitudinal study. The mothers were informed that their infants would be given a neonatal assessment and they would be invited to visit the follow-up clinic when their infants were 4 and 12 months old for further assessments.

At the neonatal stage the traditional birth measures were collected, that is, gestational age, birthweight, the Ponderal Index as a measure of low weight-for-length ($PI = \text{weight}/\text{length}^3 \times 100$), and Apgar scores. In addition, Obstetric Complications and Postnatal Complications scale scores were derived from the information taken from the medical records (Littman & Parmelee, 1978). Finally, the Brazelton Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale was administered to the infants (Brazelton, 1973).

At four months, the mothers and infants visited the clinic at which time growth measures (weight, length, and head circumference) were taken and the mothers were videotaped with each of their infants during a 3-minute feeding interaction and a 3-minute face-to-face play interaction. While one twin was being videotaped, the other twin was held by a research assistant in an adjacent room. These interactions were limited to a 3-minute period since infants of this age often become restless and fussy after a few minutes of interaction. This short period of interaction is commonly used in early interaction studies and is noted to yield sufficient data for discriminating harmonious from difficult interactions (Brazelton, Koslowski, & Main, 1974; Field, 1977; Field, 1980). For the feeding interaction, the infant was placed on the mother's lap. One camera was focused on the face and torso of the infant and the other camera on the torso and face of the mother. A split/screen generator then combined those images to appear on the screen for coding. The behaviors of the mothers and infants were rated on the feeding interaction component of the Interaction Rating Scale (Field, 1980). This scale includes 3-point ratings of the infant's state, physical activity, head orientation, gaze behavior, and persistence in feeding and similar ratings of the mother's feeding position, state rating, physical activity, head orientation, gaze behavior, contingent vocalizations, timing of bottle removal, burping, and persistence of feeding by mother.

For the mother–infant face-to-face play interaction the infant was placed in a semi-reclining infant seat on a table, and the mother was seated approximately 15 inches from the infant in a face-to-face position. The mothers were simply asked to play with their infants as they would if they were at home. Again the videotaped images were mixed using a split/screen generator, and the mothers' and infants' behaviors were rated on the Interaction Rating Scale for face-to-face interaction (Field, 1980). The face-to-face ratings of this scale include infant state, physical activity, head orientation, gaze behavior, facial expressions, fussiness and vocalizations and mother state, physical activity, head orientation, gaze behavior, silence during infant gaze aversion, facial expressions, vocalizations, infantized behaviors, contingent responsivity, and gameplaying. In addition, the videotapes were continuously coded using an event recorder for the absolute duration of mother talking and infant gaze aversion.

The interobserver reliabilities for the items on the interaction rating scales ranged from .81 to .98. Two observers were first trained to 90 percent reliability on these scales. The observers then simultaneously coded one-third of the videotapes, and interobserver reliability was calculated by Kappa, a chance-corrected statistic (Bartko & Carpenter, 1976). One observer then coded the videotapes for the infants' gaze aversion behavior and the other for the mothers' talking. The reliabilities averaged .83 for infant gaze aversion and .91 for mother talking. Finally, at 12 months, growth measures were again taken and the infants were administered the Bayley Scales of Infant Development (Bayley, 1969). These scales were used because they have been standardized on a larger population of infants and are noted to be more reliable than other infant developmental assessments (Bayley, 1969).

FINDINGS

To determine whether the twins were treated differently by the mothers and whether differential treatment varied as a function of cultural group, concordance analyses were conducted (as is often done in twin research for comparing similarity of maternal treatment of monozygotic and dyzygotic twins (Healy, in press). For these analyses the mean square within group is determined for each cultural group, the mean square of one group is then divided by the mean square for the other group to determine the F ratio. None of the F ratios were significant, suggesting that the mothers' similar treatment of the twins did not vary by cultural group.

The data were then analyzed by Bonferroni t-tests to avoid type I errors. Since the mothers treated their twins similarly during interactions, their interaction scores with the two twins were averaged and entered as one data point ($N = 10$ mothers per group and $N = 20$ infants per group). At the neonatal stage, as might be expected due to the matching procedure, there were no differences between the Haitian and black American neonates on traditional birth measures. There were also no group differences on the Obstetric and Postnatal Complications or the Brazelton Neonatal Behavior Assessment Scales.

At 4 months, there were no differences between groups on the weight of the infant (*M* = 5975 grams for the Haitian infants and 6031 grams for the Black American infants) and no differences on the Ponderal Index scores (*M* = 2.9 for the Haitian infants and 2.8 for the Black American infants). There were, however, a number of differences on the feeding and face-to-face interaction rating scales.

These differences can be seen in Table 11.1 which provides means, standard deviations, t values and p levels for the feeding interaction behaviors. Analyses of the mothers' behavior ratings on the feeding interaction scale revealed lower ratings for the Haitian mother on positioning of the infant for feeding (i.e., less cradling of the infant) and on their state (more flat affect). Furthermore, the Haitian mothers showed more head aversion (less head orientation) and less gazing at the infant and less frequent contingent vocalizations during the feeding interaction. No differences were noted between the mothers on the ratings of physical activity, timing of bottle removal, burping, or persistence in feeding. The Haitian infants also received lower ratings on the feeding interaction rating scale. As can be seen in Table 11.1, their activity level was less optimal for feeding (i.e., they engaged in more squirming) and they showed more head aver-

Table 11.1. Feeding Interaction Ratings

	Groups		*F* Ratio & *p* Level
Infants (*N* = 40)[3]	**Haitian**	**Black American**	
State	2.3 (.5)	2.4 (.5)	
Physical Activity	2.2 (.6)	2.6 (.7)	3.12[1]
Head Orientation	1.6 (.5)	2.2 (.6)	4.10[2]
Gaze Behavior	1.5 (.4)	1.9 (.5)	3.75[2]
Persistence in Feeding	1.7 (.5)	1.9 (.5)	
Mother (*N* = 20)[4]			
Feeding position	1.9 (.4)	2.4 (.5)	3.61[2]
State	2.1 (.6)	2.5 (.6)	2.98[1]
Physical Activity	1.7 (.4)	1.9 (.4)	N.S.
Head Orientation	1.8 (.4)	2.3 (.5)	3.14[1]
Gaze Behavior	1.7 (.4)	2.2 (.4)	3.08[1]
Contingent Vocalizations	1.9 (.4)	2.3 (.5)	3.69[2]
Timing Bottle Removal	2.5 (.7)	2.6 (.6)	N.S.
Burping	2.4 (.7)	2.5 (.7)	N.S.
Persistence of Feeding	2.1 (.5)	2.3 (.6)	N.S.

[1] $p < .05$
[2] $p < .01$
[3] Bonferroni t values ($k = 5$): $t = 2.71$, $p = .05$; $t = 3.31$, $p = .01$
[4] Bonferroni t values ($k = 9$): $t = 2.93$, $p = .05$; $t = 3.51$, $p = .01$

sion and less gaze at their mothers. No differences were noted between infants on state or persistence in feeding ratings.

In contrast, the face-to-face interaction ratings of the Haitian mothers and infants were higher than those of the black American mothers and infants. As can be seen in Table 11.2 the Haitian mothers showed more sensitivity to the gaze aversion of their infants; that is, they respected their infants' need for silence and ceased activity when their infant gaze averted. They also talked more and showed more animated facial expressions, and their behavior was more infantized (i.e., they showed more exaggerated facial displays and more high-pitched vocalizations with elongated vowels, facilitating the infants' processing of their behavior). Similarly, they were more contingently responsive to their infants' behaviors and responses that occurred within a short interval, again, facilitating the processing of their behavior by the infants. Finally, they engaged in more infantlike games, for example, peek-a-boo, pat-a-cake, and other universally recognized infant games. No differences were noted between the mothers on state, physical activity, head orientation, or gaze behavior ratings. Similarly, the Haitian infants showed more optimal activity level, more head orientation toward their mothers, and more gaze at their mothers (see Table 11.2). Furthermore, they were more vocal and expressive (facially) and less fussy during face-

Table 11.2. Face-to-Face Interaction Ratings

	Groups		
Infant (N = 40)[3]	**Haitian**	**Black American**	**Effect & *p* Level**
State	2.1 (.6)	2.0 (.6)	N.S.
Physical Activity	2.6 (.7)	1.9 (.6)	4.03[2]
Head Orientation	2.4 (.6)	1.9 (.5)	3.91[2]
Gaze Behavior	2.4 (.7)	1.8 (.6)	3.56[2]
Facial Expressions	2.3 (.6)	1.8 (.6)	3.32[1]
Fussiness	2.8 (.7)	2.4 (.7)	2.89[1]
Vocalizations	2.2 (.5)	1.7 (.5)	3.19[1]
Mother (N = 20)[4]			
State	2.5 (.4)	2.2 (.5)	N.S.
Physical Activity	2.4 (.5)	2.2 (.5)	N.S.
Head Orientation	2.6 (.3)	2.5 (.3)	N.S.
Gaze Behavior	2.6 (.2)	2.4 (.3)	N.S.
Silence during gaze aversion	2.4 (.7)	1.7 (.6)	4.03[2]
Facial Expressions	2.5 (.7)	2.1 (.7)	2.99[1]
Vocalizations	2.3 (.6)	1.9 (.5)	3.17[1]
Infantized Behavior	2.3 (.7)	1.8 (.5)	3.68[2]
Contingent Responsivity	2.5 (.7)	2.0 (.6)	3.59[2]
Game playing	1.8 (.7)	1.3 (.7)	3.97[2]

[1] $p < .05$
[2] $p < .01$
[3] Bonferroni t values (k = 7): $t = 2.84$, $p < .05$; $t = 3.43$, $p < .01$
[4] Bonferroni t values (k = 10): $t = 2.97$, $p < .05$; $t = 3.55$, $p < .01$

to-face interactions with their mothers. No differences were noted between the infants on their face-to-face interaction state ratings.

Although the absolute proportion of time that the Haitians and black Americans talked to their infants did not differ ($M = 66\%$ for the Haitian mothers and 59% for the Black American mothers), the amount of infant gaze aversion differed across these two groups with the Haitian infants gaze averting only 32 percent of the face-to-face interaction time and the black American infants gaze averting 46 percent of the interaction time. Thus, while the black American infants and mothers appeared to have less difficult feeding interactions, the Haitian mothers and infants received better ratings on their face-to-face interactions.

At 12 months there were no group differences in the weight of the infants or their Ponderal Index ($M = 2.1$ for the Haitian infants and 2.3 for the Black American infants). However, a time by group repeated measures interaction effect ($F(1, 37) = 4.89$, $p < .05$) suggested that the 12-month Ponderal Index for the Haitian infants was significantly lower than their P. I. at 4 months ($M = 2.1$ vs. 2.9) reflecting a trend toward small-weight-for-length in this group alone. The analysis of one-year Bayley scale scores also suggested significantly better performance on the part of the black American infants than the Haitian infants. On the Bayley mental scale, the mean score for the Haitian infants was 97, and for the black American infants the mean score was 117 ($S. D. = 14$ and 17 respectively) ($F(1, 37) = 8.16$, $p < .01$). For the Bayley motor scale, the mean score for the Haitian infants was 107 and for the black American infants the mean motor score was 117 ($S.D. = 16$ and 18 respectively) ($F(1, 37) = 5.22$, $p < .05$). No consistent group differences were noted for individual items on these scales.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The salient findings of this study were that the Haitian mother–infant dyads appeared to have better face-to-face interactions than the black American dyads, but worse feeding interactions. Although there was a decline in Ponderal indexes from 4 to 12 months for both groups of infants, the decrease was only significant for the Haitian infants, suggesting a trend in small weight-for-length for the Haitian infants. Finally, the performance of the Haitian infants on both the Bayley mental and motor scales at one year was inferior to that of the Black American infants.

Interpreting these findings is difficult inasmuch as early face-to-face interaction ratings are more often related to Bayley scale scores (at least 2-year Bayley Scale scores) than are early feeding interaction ratings (Field et al., 1978; Field, Widmayer, Greenberg, & Stoller, 1982), with those infants who have experienced less optimal face-to-face interactions performing more poorly. In this study, however, those infants (the Haitian infants) who had experienced more harmonious face-to-face interactions were performing less well on the Bayley scales. It may be that the Haitian dyads were less accustomed to "American style" face-to-face interactions so that this was a novel experience that they seemed to enjoy. Their behavior in the lab was different than their anecdotally observed behavior in the waiting room. In the waiting room very little face-to-face interaction was noted since the Haitian mothers typically placed their infants on their laps facing outward. Thus, their face-to-face interaction behavior in the laboratory situation may not be characteristic of their typical interactions. In future work, it would be important to observe these behaviors in a more naturalistic setting such as the mothers' homes.

The more difficult feeding interactions of the Haitian mother–infant dyads and the trend toward small weight-for-length may be symptomatic of less adequate nutrition. This would not be surprising given the relatively high incidence of failure-to-thrive in Haitian infants (Weidman, 1978). The feeding interaction behavior may mediate nutritional intake which in turn may mediate Bayley scale performance at one year. In contrast, face-to-face interactions may be a more significant mediator (given healthy nutrition) of Bayley scale scores at two years—scores that rely more on verbal skills that in turn are dependent on early interaction skills. A related possibility is that the infant who has more problems feeding may lack the necessary energy to effectively perform on developmental assessments. Still another possibility is that the Bayley scale may tap skills that are less familiar to the Haitian than the American infant, such as peek-a-boo and building blocks. It is also conceivable that none of these factors mediated the Bayley scale performance. Despite smooth face-to-face interactions at 4 months during which the Haitian mothers appeared to be sensitive and responsive, several factors could have intervened between the 4- and 12-month periods, for example, stresses associated with becoming acculturated on infant illnesses. Repeated assessments at more frequent intervals would have provided more information on this question. In follow-up work, it would be worthwhile to repeat the interaction assessments later in infancy to determine the persistence of interaction differences and how those relate to Bayley scale performance during the same stage of infant development.

The more difficult feeding interactions, small weight-for-length growth curves and reportedly high incidence of failure-to-thrive in Haitian infants appear to be related problems that need further investigation in a larger sample of infants that is more representative of the Haitian immigrant population. The Haitian mothers in our study generally appeared very passive during their feeding interactions. Their 4-month-old infants were frequently positioned in an upright sitting position on the mother's lap with the infants faced outward, much as has been described for infants in the French Marquesas when the mother and infant are socializing with a group (Martini & Kirkpatrick, 1981). The Haitian mothers also typically looked directly ahead, instead of at the baby, and rarely monitored the bottle. Several of the mothers held the bottle upright, making it more difficult for the infant to suck, and the sounds of "sucking air" were often audible on the videotape. Although this could be a "nervous" reaction to the videocamera, it was unique to the feeding interaction; the face-to-face interaction, in contrast, appeared to be quite comfortable. Another possibility is raised by the films of Berggren and Berggren on feedings of older infants and young children on the island of Haiti (Berggren & Berggren, 1980). In several of their filmed examples, the mother placed a dish of food in front of the youngster and did not sit with the child or apparently monitor the child's eating. The Haitian mother may have a more passive attitude toward monitoring her child's eating behavior because eating may be a less important social event in that culture versus other cultural groups. This in turn may contribute to infant malnutrition in Haiti and failure-to-thrive in Miami. Berggren and Berggren (1980) reported that malnutrition among children in Haiti was significantly reduced when a native in each village was hired to monitor the mothers' feeding practices and to periodically collect infant/child weight cards.

These data pose the possibility that coaching Haitian mothers in infant feeding interactions may similarly reduce the incidence of failure-to-thrive in Haitian infants. If "passive" feeding interactions, however, are a cultural practice as opposed to a lack of information on effective feeding patterns, any interventions of this kind would require sensitivity to cultural differences and careful monitoring of the effects of modifying those interactions.

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12

Family Relationships and Patterns of Childrearing in the Caribbean

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In this chapter, we examine the characteristics of family relationships and childrearing in the Caribbean. We focus primarily on low-income black families, drawing largely on studies done in Jamaica and Trinidad, where most of the research has been done. Unfortunately, there is a meager research literature on family relationships and childrearing in this part of the world. Thus, the generalizations we make are sometimes based on the results of a single study. At some points, we rely on observations of the second author who lived as a participant observer in a rural village of Trinidad in the 1960s. However, we are cautious about this practice in view of the marked changes that have taken place in Trinidad's industry, economy, schools, and social institutions since the middle 1970s (cf. MacDonald, 1986). Despite these qualifiers, it is important to emphasize that descriptions of family life tend to be fairly consistent across most of the Caribbean, and that some fundamental characteristics of family life and childrearing appear not to have changed very much over the past several decades. The first part of this chapter focuses on mating relationships, family/household structures, and work and family roles of men, women, and children. We then focus on the lives of children, their relationships with parents, how childrearing patterns both reflect and shape cultural traditions, and on the implications for children's development and functioning.

CARIBBEAN FAMILIES

Caribbean family life must be considered both from the standpoint of the impoverished realities of present-day life for much of the population and from the standpoint of the historical development of the culture. Most of the three-and-a-half million people of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are of black African or East Indian background. Their ancestors were brought to the islands as slaves, in the case of Africans, or as indentured servants, in the case of East Indians. Some of the survival strategies that were developed to adapt to the conditions of oppression and of a weak economy during earlier decades are still evident in today's society. Major industrial and economic changes in the 1960s and 1970s have caused many people to move from rural to urban areas, leaving approximately 40 percent of the residents of Jamaica and 55 percent of the residents of Trinidad and Tobago living in rural villages, usually on small-scale family farms that do not produce enough household income to allow the family to be self-sufficient. Most rural and urban residents are poor and live in villages or squatter settlements that are densely populated, with many people sharing limited housing, plumbing, and yard property. Childbearing levels tend to be high by Western standards. Most adults have completed primary school, but in many villages or urban settlements fewer than 20 percent have attended secondary school.

Marital unions. Cultural norms governing mating relationships and family formation tend to be flexible and fluid. The great majority of mating arrangements are socially sanctioned but not legally established unions. These relationships are informal, temporary, relatively easy to dissolve, and result in many children who are born outside of wedlock. In fact, roughly 70 percent of Caribbean children are born to couples in nonlegal unions (Powell, 1986).

Nonlegal unions take several forms and reflect different levels of commitment. "Friending" relationships occur between partners who do not share a common residence. Sexual intercourse is expected and there is typically some sharing of financial resources by the man for the woman's children and living needs. Most of these relationships are temporary, although some partners move from a "friending" to a "common-law union," popularly referred to as "living" (Rodman, 1971). In a "living" relationship the man and woman share a common residence. The woman is expected to care for the house and children and the man is expected to provide financial support for the family. Although most "living" relationships eventually are terminated, they last longer than "friending" and some of them serve as a precursor to marriage.

Rodman (1971) uses the concepts of "marital shifting" and "serial marriages" to convey the fluidity of these family forms. "Better a good livin' than a bad marriage" is a common saying throughout the Caribbean and illustrates the importance of alternate marital forms. Most men and women by age 50 have had three or more "friending" relationships and two or more "living" relationships (Voydanoff & Rodman, 1978). Marriage occurs less frequently than "living," and "living" less frequently than "friending." That is, those marital forms that involve lesser degrees of commitment occur most frequently, and this has been viewed as a cultural development that helps individuals to adapt to the marital shifting that is engendered by economic difficulties (cf. Rodman, 1971).

Family/household structure. The majority of the Caribbean people live in one of three types of household patterns (see Ennew, 1982, for a more detailed account). Young single women with children often live with their mothers in grandmother-headed households. The father's role in these families can vary from his being a casual, sexual friend of the mother to being a regular visitor who provides some support and financial assistance to the family. A second household pattern consists of a man and woman living together in a consensual union. These households may include the children of either or both parents from past unions as well as the present one. The third pattern is the female-headed, single-parent household which sometimes extends over time to become a grandmother-headed household.

In noting the prevalence of matrifocality in the Caribbean, we do not mean to suggest that patriarchal, nuclear families do not exist. For the middle and upper classes in these territories, the nuclear family is the predominant family form (cf. Dechesnay, 1986). In fact, all social classes look to the nuclear family form, with the man as breadwinner and the woman as homemaker, as the ideal. Nevertheless, all classes in the Caribbean tolerate departures from these values, and in the lower class, the modal pattern is matrifocal.

The economics of family life. Despite marked industrial and economic improvements in Caribbean territories since the middle 1970s, many people still live in poverty. In rural areas, small-scale farms do not provide enough income to make the family self-sufficient. These households must rely on income from other sources, often from the work of family members outside of the farm. If the family is fortunate, those working away from the family farm are close enough to return in the evening. Many, however, live for long periods away from home in order to find work and to support the family. It is not uncommon for one or both parents to leave the region for work elsewhere, leaving the children with the mother's mother or mother's sister, or with some other relative or neighbors. In any case, children are frequently used on small farms either to supplement the work of adults, or to free adults to engage in outside work activities. For families living in or near cities, such as those in squatter settlements, children are often expected to work the streets for family income—to be street vendors, beggars, pilferers, or to perform personal service activities known as "hustling" (Ennew, 1982).

Roles of men and women in the household. Gender role definitions in the Caribbean appear to be converging somewhat with those in North America (e.g., Powell, 1986), but remain conventional relative to U.S. standards. Generally, women are expected to care for the house and children, while men are expected to provide financial support for the family, usually by working outside of the home. Nevertheless, men, particularly those in the lower classes, often find the breadwinner role a difficult one to fulfill adequately. There is often too little work, the pay is low, and women are sometimes as qualified for the existing jobs as men. An important consequence is that the man is not a highly esteemed family member and often is only peripherally involved in family decision making. This is an interesting state of affairs because when Caribbean women are asked to indicate the head of household, approximately two-thirds name the man (Powell, 1986). Nevertheless, women (particularly those in common-law unions) see themselves rather than their partners as autonomous decision makers, and to the extent that the man does not bring needed resources to the family, his headship status is nominal, and he will have relatively little decision-making power. Marital shifting appears to be an adaptive mechanism to help the man cope with this dilemma.

In contrast to the mother's responsibility to take care of the house and to be the primary caretaker for the child, the father's role is to ``mind'' the child, that is, to bring in money for the child's food, clothing, and schooling. The duty of ``minding'' is strictly a financial one, and falls upon the man regardless of where he is living or what type of marital or quasimarital relationship he has with a woman. The man may ``mind'' the children of other biological fathers if he is living with a woman who does not receive regular support for the children born to her in earlier unions. However, the man is not obligated to ``mind'' all of the woman's children, and can ask her to leave one or more children with someone else, perhaps the grandmother.

Since the ``minding'' role of the man may be a difficult one to fulfill adequately, he will want to be certain that the children he is ``minding'' are his own. He will pay close attention to his partner's daily behaviors as a check on her fidelity, and to the physical characteristics of the baby. If he is married or in a common-law union, he is probably confident about his wife's fidelity. However, if in a visiting or ``friending'' union, he may make surprise visits to the woman's house to see if she has been ``friending'' with anyone else who could be the baby's biological father. The important point is that the man, within the constraints of his financial position, holds the veto power to support or not support a new child. If he believes that the child is his own, he will ordinarily accept the ``minding'' responsibility for the child.

CHILDREN AND CHILDREARING

Childhood routines and activities. Existing research literature tells us much more about family structure and functions in the Caribbean than about the characteristics of children and their activities. However, several investigations of childrearing have been conducted recently with Jamaican families. One study examines childrearing practices and attitudes among mothers of young children living in several poor, urban suburbs of Kingston (Grantham-McGregor, Landman, & Desai, 1983). A more recent study has been conducted by the Caribbean Child Development Center of the University of the West Indies in Kingston to examine the relative effectiveness of different methods of parent education on parenting behaviors of low-income parents (Wint & Brown, 1988). Both studies focus on parents of 3- to 5-year-old children, and the results of the studies yield some consistent childrearing themes, some of which have been referred to earlier by Rodman (1971) among rural Trinidadian villagers.

The children sometimes go on trips in the neighborhood, such as shopping, going to church, or visiting other homes with parents, but there appears little evidence that children are taken specifically for the purpose of play or for educational pursuit. Much of the child's day is spent playing with other children, usually in an outdoor yard shared by two or more households. To parents, play is considered to be important from the standpoint of social interaction, and "to keep children out of trouble," but is not typically seen as a means to attain educational outcomes. Thus, while the children do have some commercial toys like dolls, marbles, balls, tea sets, jacks, cars and trucks, few children have more than two or three toys, and some have none at all. This is partly due to the financial constraints of the household, and partly the result of parents' beliefs that commonplace objects such as cartons, milk boxes, wheels, sticks, leaves, and empty cans are just as valuable and enjoyable for the children (Wint & Brown, 1988). Grantham-McGregor et al. (1983) indicate that approximately one-third of the children have children's books, but that very few have toys designed specifically for educational purposes such as building toys, puzzles, paints, crayons, or pencils and paper. While most families have radios, few have television sets.

There is little evidence of ritual or of adherence to routines in the lives of these young children. For example, in the Grantham-McGregor et al. (1983) sample, most children (88%) did not have a specific bedtime, only one-third regularly ate meals together, and most (approximately 80%) were not assigned special tasks to perform. In many cases the mother did not observe the children's birthdays.

Children's relationships with their parents. Multigenerational families, crowded households, the sharing of property and facilities (e.g., yards and unattached kitchen and/or toilet facilities), and the frequent visiting between adjacent households afford children many social contacts and close relationships with other children and adults during the preschool years. Early experiences with immediate family members depend largely on the structure of the household arrangement and on the numbers and roles of those living in the household. For example, first-born children are far less likely to live with their biological fathers than later-born siblings (Grantham-McGregor et al., 1983). In most households the mother remains the most significant person in the child's life throughout the childrearing years. The importance of the father depends on his occupational success and the extent of his financial contributions to the family. If successful, the children will be encouraged to observe his behavior carefully as a model breadwinner. If unsuccessful, he will be paid less attention by the children and, due to marital shifting, he may not remain as a member of the household. In either case, fathers typically experience much less interaction with their children than mothers, except for occasional rough-and-tumble play activities.

Parental interactions with the children often revolve around outdoor play activities such as skipping and playing various types of ball games or indoor rough-and-tumble play (e.g., romping on the bed with father). Parents rarely share in the child's play with an educational toy or look for educational uses of a commercial toy (Grantham-McGregor et al., 1983). Story telling, for example, Anansi and Bible stories, seems to be a fairly common activity for mothers and their young children. Although Wint and Brown (1988) indicated that parents do not attach any specific importance or purposive function to this activity, there are some reports that "Jumbee" or ghost stories are commonly used as means to scare children into behavorial compliance. Few mothers appear to spend much time reading to their children. In the Grantham-McGregor sample, only 12 percent of mothers reported reading daily to their children, 68 percent weekly, and 20 percent less often, and more than one-third of the mothers admitted that they attempted to answer only a few of the questions the children asked during the day.

Roughly half of the children studied in recent research live in father-absent households (e.g., Grantham-McGregor et al., 1983). In these cases, mothers will both "mind" and "care" their children by leaving the child with someone else while they work. As the number and ages of children in the household increase, the mother will make increasing use of older children to "care" younger ones. However, in the case of babies and very young children for whom support has been discontinued or never offered by the father, the mother's strategy may differ. Feeling that the young child needs the presence of a consistent adult caretaker, the mother may take over the man's responsibility of "minding" and will leave the baby in the complete care of another, usually the mother's mother or the mother's sister. This may prove to be a permanent arrangement, as some mothers enter into new marital unions or make a permanent move to work in a distant region. The custom of "child shifting" has proven to be an important means to ensure support for children's development.

In father-present households, children's interactions with mothers and fathers will vary with the child's age and with the parent's biological relationship to the child. As in most cultures, mothers interact far more frequently with their infants and preschoolers than with older children, and far more frequently with children under 10 years of age than the father of the household. Flinn (1988) has shown that nearly one-third of the behavorial interactions of rural Trinidadian mothers are associated with household children from birth to age 5; this contrasts with only two percent of fathers' social interactions that are directed to this age group. As their children grow older, mothers markedly reduce their child-directed interactions (to approximately 10% of their total social interactions) but appear to maintain more frequent interaction with girls than with boys throughout the childhood years and into early adulthood. This finding has been attributed to the reciprocal roles that mothers and daughters maintain for one another; namely, the mother's continual need for assistance with household chores and the care of other household children, and the daughter's eventual need for financial assistance and child care (Flinn, 1988).

Fathers exhibit a different sex-specific pattern of interactions with children in the household, first showing low but comparable frequencies of interaction with boys and girls through the child's early adolescent years, and then showing more frequent interaction with boys than with girls during the child's late adolescence and early adulthood. Flinn (1988) interprets the latter finding to stem from cooperative economic activities among fathers and their older sons (e.g., growing a staple on family farmland), as well as cooperative social activities that are often shared by fathers and older sons, such as drinking beer and playing checkers. The father's heightened interest in his daughter during early and middle adolescence may reflect his "guarding" of the daughter to prevent her from engaging in unsatisfactory mating relationships (Flinn, 1988).

Flinn (1988) has also shown that men in households containing only genetic children and stepchildren interact nearly twice as frequently and have fewer combative interactions with their genetic children than with their stepchildren, and that the man's relationship with stepchildren does not improve over time. These differential preferences are most evident for boy children and are only apparent in households containing both genetic and nongenetic children. In households containing only stepchildren, the man's interaction frequencies with the children are comparable to those that men have with genetic children.

Despite his preferential treatment of male genetic offspring, the man of the household must be careful to maintain reasonably good relationships with the stepchildren. Mistreatment of stepchildren would usually result in the mother's strong disfavor and would risk ending the marital relationship. A man who wants to maintain the marital relationship would therefore exercise care in his relationship with stepchildren and, as Flinn points out, he will "give in" to threats made by the knowing children:

> The importance of "good stepparenting" was impressed upon me one day while I was watching several males build a fishing boat. Two stepoffspring of one of the men were playing in the vicinity. One of the children accidentally knocked over a jar of glue, and when the stepfather shooed the children away, the older child threatened to tell their mother that he had been mean to them. The stepfather diplomatically gave them some money to buy sweets with. After they left for the store, he explained that if the children are vexed (angry) with him, the mother will send him back to his bachy (an uncomfortable shack away from the village). His stepoffspring seemed cognizant of this and not beyond exploiting the circumstances to the benefit of their sweet tooth. (Flinn, 1988, p. 353)

During the preschool and school years, children are much more likely to maintain warm and affectionate relationships with their mothers than with their fathers (Rodman, 1971). The father's role is basically to provide financial support, and not necessarily to establish close relationships with his children. Moreover, the mother's relationship with the child may not be close, particularly, if she takes on the "minding" role. In this case, she will likely give the child's care over to someone else while she works. The child will then have a foster mother as well as a biological mother, and he or she may also have foster and biological fathers. Under these circumstances, the child's affections are likely to depend on how the various adults involved tend to treat him. If the child enjoys the treatment of the foster parents he will show more affection to them. If not, he may maintain more affection for the biological parents. This is another manifestation of what Rodman (1971) has referred to as a "circumstance-oriented" situation.

Roles and expectations for children. Due to financial uncertainties and shifting family structures, Caribbean children are encouraged to become self-reliant and hard-working at an early age (cf. Ennew, 1982; Rodman, 1971). Wint and Brown's (1988) findings indicate that adults have strict and often unrealistic expectations of the young child. It is not uncommon for 4- and 5-year-olds to be sent to a village store to purchase bread for a family meal, or to carry a can of water from the river. Although parents have gender-related expectations about children's work responsibilities (principally, cleaning, cooking, and washing for girls, and sweeping and carrying for boys), boys and girls nevertheless share many types of chores. Moreover, they have interchangeable work roles in boy-absent and girl-absent households. This is another example of the cultural flexibility that has developed to permit low-income families to cope with their environment.

Cummings, Lee, and London (1983) conclude that the home circumstances of Caribbean children are largely responsible for academic deficiencies, inasmuch as some children will be kept away from school for long periods of time in order to help with agricultural or household chores. Ennew (1982) concludes from her observations of poor rural Jamaican children that the child's growth and schooling is secondary to the performance of household tasks, regardless of whether the tasks are essential to the family's needs, and that many parents believe that only one or two days of school per week is sufficient for a good education.

> Training in household tasks to the exclusion of play and/or education begins early in Jamaica. Even before the age of five, some children's knowledge of life lies only in the ceaseless round of daily chores, which adds little to their later ability to cope with life in what is essentially a Western-oriented nation, and can seriously detract from their ability to profit from formal education. The best that can be said is that the skills and self-confidence to shoulder adult responsibility in the domestic sphere are acquired early. (Ennew, 1982, p. 560)

Ennew also describes the children's reactions:

> But not all children perform these tasks willingly and many of the children encountered in my research showed resentment. When the mother has to be the father, it is inevitable that in many cases children have to be housewives, dealing with the frustration and boredom of a role which has been thrust upon them, rather than being brought about by their own actions. (Ennew, 1982, p. 560)

Behavior control and discipline. Beating children for misbehavior is a common disciplinary practice. Although not well studied, it is widely held that Caribbean parents beat their children, sometimes severely and inappropriately (Grantham-McGregor et al., 1983) so that the children "will grow up correctly, having good manners" (Wint & Brown, 1988, p. 268). Beatings are used for boys and girls alike, although with somewhat less intensity for girls. Wint and Brown (1988) report that prior to parent education training, their parents administered one to three beatings of children per week. These investigators also indicated that many parents openly acknowledge the shortcomings of corporal punishment, but claim not to be aware of an effective alternative. Grantham-McGregor et al. (1983) specifically asked mothers whether they beat their children. Nearly 80 percent of the mothers said that they sometimes used an implement such as a belt or a stick to accomplish the beatings.

Wint and Brown (1988) present evidence to suggest that parents are as physical in expressing their love and affection to young children, for example in the use of hugs for good behaviors, as they are when disciplining them. Moreover, many parents also attempt to use verbal means of behavior control, for example, a father's request for the child to repeat after him the appropriate behaviors to perform.

Implications for children's development. The reported descriptions of the children suggest that parents and the wider social environment may prepare children poorly for later development and life experiences. This would seem true only to the extent that Western middle-class standards define the parameters of successfully developing children and adults. In this section we elaborate on the family patterns and practices that have potentially negative implications for children's functioning. These patterns and practices, however, are best understood when viewed within a specific cultural context, and we elaborate on such a view in our concluding section.

There is some consensus that many Caribbean parents do not understand the functions of play for children or their own roles in the child's play and in the promotion of the child's learning at home. Few educational toys, little evidence of educationally oriented play on the part of parents, minimal amounts of reading in many households, and sporadic school attendance by children marked by long absences during some seasons are likely to have detrimental consequences for the children's subsequent cognitive development and literacy.

When discussing these issues, most investigators (cf. Grantham-McGregor et al., 1983; Wint & Brown, 1988) have underscored the point that a lack of emphasis on educational preparation in the household stems not so much from lack of interest, but from lack of knowledge and from lack of time and energy. Moreover, most investigators link these circumstances to the economic difficulties of the families. For example, Grantham-McGregor et al. (1983) argue that many of their findings can be explained by urbanization and poverty:

> Lack of awareness of the educational value of toys and play, lack of emphasis on verbal interaction with young children, increased use of physical punishment, and playing the radio continuously have all been associated with low socio-economic status or low standards of maternal education in England or the United States. (p. 68)

The tentativeness, lack of predictability, and lack of a sense of personal control over such occurrences as shifting family structures is another set of factors that is likely to detract from the child's optimal development and learning. The fact that many children, particularly first borns, can expect to live with as many as five or six different household heads during the childhood years due to marital shifting and child shifting may account in part for the lack of close relationships between young children and their fathers. This line of reasoning suggests that the distance occurs not only as a result of the father's lack of prestige in the family, but as a defensive distance maintained to avoid the hurt of eventual separations. These circumstances may also threaten the closeness of the children's relationships with their mothers, since separations, although less frequent, are also commonplace between mothers and their children.

A third factor that places these children at developmental risk from the standpoint of Western standards concerns the goal or ideal that is held for childhood outcomes. There is increasing consensus among theorists and educators in the United States that successfully developing young children are those who are "instrumentally competent"—that is, self-motivated, self-directed, and regulated, and generally instrumental and independently resourceful in their everyday environments. Early support for these notions of childhood competence came primarily from the research and writings of Anderson and Messick (1974), Baumrind (1971), White (1972), White and Watts (1973), and Zigler and Trickett (1978). Lange, Ladd, and Davis (1982) summarize these findings:

> Most competencies have to do with what competent children will do spontaneously, rather than what they can do. For example, they excel at getting and maintaining attention from adults. They use adults effectively as resources. They assume leadership with peers, compete with peers, take pride in their own accomplishments, make it a point to note discrepancies among the objects and events they encounter, and use resources effectively to try out new things. Moreover, they make plans and carry out multi-step activities and attempt to make interesting associations among

> the objects and events they encounter in the environment. In other words, the children that teachers designate as "sharp" or "bright" children, ones who are "going to get ahead" in this world, do appear to have some specific capabilities such as linguistic competence that less competent children do not possess. But, what strikes us most about the differences is the operative, self-regulatory, and self-motivated characteristics of the competent children. They use people and resources to better understand and experiment with their environments, and they appear to do much of this on their own initiative and at their own direction. (pp. 6–7)

Although Caribbean parents also appreciate the early development of independence and self-responsibility in their children, less attention seems to be paid to the kinds of experiences needed to nurture these dispositions. This may be the result of a stronger parental concern to make the child "obey," which rules out many exploratory activities that may tax a busy parent's patience. The overriding concern for obedience also exists in the schools. Cummings et al. (1983) offer the following characterization of school life:

> In a West Indian classroom, strict discipline is maintained so that children grow to expect punishment rather than reasoning when they commit infractions. Absolute quiet is demanded in the often overcrowded, one-room school buildings in the Caribbean, where teachers must be expositors. Classroom participation by children in such Caribbean classrooms is kept to a minimum if not altogether discouraged. The result is that independence, initiative, and self-reliance on the part of the children, are inadvertently stifled. In such an environment, children grow to be passive, learning by rote and memorization. (p. 492)

CONCLUSION

The judgment that childrearing patterns of low-income Caribbean families place children at a disadvantage in terms of cognitive and instrumental development is based on criteria that have emerged from the works of psychologists and educators who have mainly studied samples of children who are white, Western, and middle class. If we acknowledge cultural and subcultural differences, and view family relationships and childrearing behavior to be responsive to the cultural context (Ogbu, 1981), then we can see the adaptive strengths of the patterns that have developed. For example, since the man has great difficulty in fulfilling his role as a family provider he is not highly esteemed in his family, and marital shifting is therefore an adaptive pattern. This often leaves the woman with full responsibility for her children, at which point child shifting can be seen as an adaptive pattern (see Rodman, 1971, for additional details). As Newburger (1987, p. 250) says, "it is difficult to remove the question of what is 'adaptive' from the time, the place, and the circumstances of that culture."

Given the economic difficulties faced by black families living in poverty in the Caribbean, flexibility in family structure and in childrearing patterns represent culturally developed survival strategies. In addition, the emphasis on obedience, and the expectation that very young children will undertake household tasks, help to prepare children for the realities of adult life. In brief, the social and cultural forms of low-income families in the Caribbean represent a way of surviving and coping with poverty within an achievement-oriented society.

The research by Kohn (1977) clarifies the dynamics that may be involved in Caribbean families. Kohn has shown that there are value differences between middle-class and working-class parents, that these are translated into different kinds of childrearing behavior, and that these differences are related to occupational positions. According to Kohn, middle-class parents place more emphasis on self-direction and autonomy for their children while working-class parents place more emphasis on obedience and conformity. These value differences reflect different occupational requirements. Middle-class workers are more likely to occupy supervisory and decision-making positions, in contrast to working-class workers who are more likely to be following others' directions and decisions.

Kohn (1977) points out further that middle-class parental values are translated into behavior that is more supportive and encouraging of children, and that parents pay more attention to the underlying intention of children's actions. In contrast, working-class parents use more coercive disciplinary techniques, including physical punishment, and are more attuned to the consequences of a child's actions than to the child's intent. Although we need to be cautious in applying Kohn's findings about working-class parents to lower-class parents, there seem to be some striking parallels. For example, low-income Caribbean parents, who are likelier to be in occupations where they are subject to control and supervision, are more likely to value obedience by their children and to use coercive punishment techniques, including physical punishment. The fact that the impact of poverty has been shown to have a similar influence on family organization in different cultural settings (Rodman, 1971) and that Kohn's work had been replicated in different cultural settings (Reiss & Lee, 1988) suggests that our summary of family relationships and childrearing patterns among low-income black families in the Caribbean may have a wider applicability. What remains unclear and controversial is the impact that these patterns have on children's development. If we accept the view that the family patterns are indicative of adaptive strengths, a further question emerges, and the answers to this question are also unclear and controversial: Do the cultural patterns that are adaptive to conditions of poverty then prevent the escape from poverty? There is an extensive literature about poverty, values, and motivation that we cannot pursue here. However, one approach that suggests that low-income individuals are not trapped in poverty has been offered by Rodman (1971). He suggests that many low-income individuals have developed a "lower-class value stretch" that enables them to adapt to difficult economic circumstances but also to take advantage of real opportunities:

> Poor people are influenced by the values of the larger society, and they typically share such values as work and achievement, and marriage and family unity. When such values cannot be realized they may "stretch" their values and become satisfied with lesser degrees of achievement and family unity. These "stretched" or alternative values may coexist with the conventional values. As a result, poor people may have a wider range of values in some areas. They may thus be able to take advantage of new opportunities, provided that the opportunities are really there, and that they know how to take advantage of them. Opening up opportunities, rather than changing the values of the poor, may therefore be the crucial practical problem in attacking poverty. (p. 6)

Questions about the strengths and weaknesses of low-income family and childrearing patterns will be with us for some time to come. So will questions about the implications of these patterns. We have suggested that these cultural patterns represent strengths in the sense that they enable poor people to survive under difficult economic conditions. Their implications for children's cognitive and instrumental development and for adults' ability to escape from the bounds of poverty are less clear and in need of further thought and investigation.

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13

Parenting in Polynesia: A View from the Marquesas*

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INTRODUCTION

Socialization has been studied at great length and in great detail in Polynesia. In this chapter, we summarize major themes in the literature on Polynesian socialization, and offer a critical perspective, based on ethnographic fieldwork with Marquesans.[1] We stress the intimacy, vigilance, and deep concern apparent in Marquesan parent–child dyads, the depth and complexity of social training children receive at the hands of other children, and practices nurturing personal autonomy in the social world.

The islands of Polynesia span the Pacific, from New Zealand to Hawaii. Polynesian peoples sailed from homelands in the west (Samoa, Tonga) to Tahiti and the Marquesas over 2,000 years ago. From the latter, eastern, centers, voyagers then founded new societies in Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island. Polynesians have adapted to atolls, with little land area or fresh water, and to large islands with rich volcanic soils.

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[1] Our account is based on fieldwork in 1975–1977 with Marquesans on the island of 'Ua Pou and in Tahiti. For further detail on Marquesan culture and society, see Lavondes (1968, 1972), Kirkpatrick (1981, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, [illegible], 1987), Martini (1984a, 1984b), and Martini and Kirkpatrick (1981). The database for this chapter includes: interviews with mothers on household work; developmental stages and the emergence of mature thought; participant observation while living in Marquesan families; a filmed study of mother–infant interaction; observational studies of children's peer groups; and interviews with school-aged and adolescent children.

Polynesian societies varied in size, in the extent of stratification, and in other ways when first visited by Europeans. More recently, Polynesia has undergone massive depopulation, occupation by Western powers (with the exception of Tonga, an independent kingdom), and conversion to Christianity. Modern historical experiences, as well as precontact variation, have led to differences among Polynesians today. Still, both Polynesians and outsiders recognize broad similarities among Polynesian peoples.

Accounts of Polynesian social life are informed (and constrained) by a broad contrast with Western ideas and practices. Middle-American parents raise their children to be competent "psychological" beings (Rieff, 1963; Baritz, 1989); Polynesian children are raised to be sensitive to others and to group consensus, finding a place in a social world. Howard (1970) provides a useful summary, in *Learning to be Rotuman:*

> The Rotuman world view and system of values contrast markedly along several dimensions with the one prevailing in the urbanized West. In Rotuma the cultural emphasis is upon the maintenance of interpersonal harmony and cooperation; conflict is to be avoided and individual competition is therefore tightly restrained. . . . [Rotumans] are concerned with the pragmatic consequences of behavior rather than the inner dynamics that generate it. We constantly ask why people do things and evaluate their actions largely in terms of their intentions; the Rotumans observe how a person's behavior affects his relationship with others and judge it accordingly. Our primary commitments are supposed to be to principles and ideals; the Rotumans are supposed to be to other human beings. We value individual achievement above everything else; the Rotumans place a similar emphasis on obtaining the approval of their fellows. (pp. 7–8)

As students of Marquesan and modern Hawaiian society, we are troubled by the terms of the argument that Middle-American is to Polynesian as psychological is to social life. Marquesans recognize social rules and expectations as powerful, but often find them uncongenial. Marquesans value autonomy, self-reliance, and the development of innovative solutions for everyday problems, without being Western individualists. These Marquesan attitudes are, we suggest, present (if perhaps not so strongly expressed) in other Polynesians' lives.

POLYNESIAN PARENTING: MAJOR THEMES

Studies of socialization in Polynesia touch repeatedly on themes that can be grouped under the headings of the social context of caregiving, caregiving practices, and goals of socialization. This section provides a brief review of the major themes in the literature.

The Social Context of Caregiving

Polynesian children grow up in a world where many adults and children have actual or potential responsibility for their upbringing, in contrast to the Western tendency to restrict such responsibility to a single parent or couple. Socialization occurs within enduring social networks, in which genetic parents often are only secondary caregivers. Again, primary adult caregivers delegate much responsibility to others in the household or larger kin unit.

Involvement in stable networks. Polynesians expect both kin ties and relations developed during a person's life to continue for long periods of time. They realize that they will need to live with interpersonal mistakes.

Nowadays, Polynesians may be geographically mobile, yet still participate in family and community networks. (Thus Samoans in New Zealand and the United States contribute to exchanges at home.)

Polynesians tend to live among kin, either in extended family households or near relatives who participate extensively in caregiving and socialization. Children are taught to address adult kinsmen, and often adult nonkin, by terms that underline parental or parentlike status. Ritchie and Ritchie (1989, p. 109) conclude that "since children are considered to belong to the community, everyone in it is expected to act parentally—to comfort, to instruct, to admonish, to punish."

Multiple caregivers. When couples live in extended family units, their parents and grown siblings share in caring for, teaching, and disciplining the child. As a result, no one person or couple may be able to assert a clear claim to direct the child's socialization. A new baby belongs to the family, not to the biological parents.

Several different effects of multiple parenting have been postulated:

1. It gives children a sense of security. With "many laps" to sit in, children will always have adults to care for them (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979).
2. It ties children into a larger social world. They learn that they do not belong exclusively to their biological parents, and that their parents do not belong exclusively to them (Levy, 1970, 1973).
3. Multiple parenting reduces the intensity of the parent-child relationship. The child interacts with many adults rather than with one or two.
4. It "reduces the strain of responsibility on individual parents" (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989, p. 110).
5. It provides children with many models of adult behavior: "They learn first-hand about individual differences, about each person's quirks, moods and times of reliability and unreliability" (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989).

Adoption and fosterage. Adoptive or foster relationships are prevalent in Polynesia (Carroll, 1970; Brady, 1976). Children are almost always adopted among relatives. Adopters are not seen as substitute parents so much as *real* ones, who enact parenthood. Practical reasons for adoption are often cited, but more general cultural and psychological messages are conveyed through adoption as a social practice in Polynesia:

1. Sharing children strengthens kin ties, undercutting the tendency for households to become separate, self-sufficient units (Firth, 1936). Adoptions may cement alliances between households or larger units. Thus, in Samoa, "the adopted child is considered to have created a *faia* 'ridge' between the two groups" (Shore, 1976, p. 176).
2. Children appreciate parents for the care they provide, and learn not to view such care as a matter of course. One adopted Tahitian explained: "When you are taken in your infancy by somebody, it isn't worthwhile to think anymore about your mother. The woman who took you is just the same as your biological mother. Your gratitude is great because you were an infant and you were taken" (Levy, 1973, p. 483).
3. Relationships are contingent on persons' willingness to perform them, not established by prior ties of blood or the like (Levy, 1970, 1973). More generally, persons learn to limit trust and dependence in particular relationships.
4. If children cannot count on particular others, they can depend on their kin network to provide them with a nurturant, caring environment (Brooks, 1976).
5. For Polynesians, mature adults are willing and able to care for dependents. Recruitment of children to a household can count as proof of the continuing competence of aging householders, and hence function to support and demonstrate unflawed identity (Kirkpatrick, 1987).

Moving the child out into the social world. When the child "belongs to the community," parents must orient the child to a wide social stage. This process has been presented as beginning abruptly, with an indulgent infancy succeeded by a period when adults no longer respond to toddlers' demands, and no longer convey approval of their actions. Soon the child becomes quite independent of parents, and active in sibling and wider peer groups (for example, see Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946; Levy, 1973; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1979; D'Amato 1986).

However, children are oriented toward the social world long before 3-year-olds face parental irritation (Martini & Kirkpatrick, 1981). Parents prepare children for participation in a larger arena in several ways, as will be seen in the Marquesan data discussed below.

Child caregivers. As Weisner and Gallimore have stressed (1977), older siblings are extensively involved in caregiving in Polynesia. Caregiving begins at an early age, and continues throughout youth and adolescence.

Status assent and status rivalry. Analysts of precontact social organization in Polynesia argue that status differences and rivalry among persons close in status were pervasive, if more pronounced in some societies than others (notably, Goldman, 1970). Status relations in Polynesia often include formulations of actors as complementary, not just as unequal (e.g., Huntsman 1981; Shore 1982). Status distinctions are far more muted in many Polynesian societies today than in the past. As will be clear below, we have some difficulty finding such distinctions important in Marquesan parent–child relations. We do view status dynamics as crucial in peer groups among Marquesans, and recognize their importance in western Polynesia.

COMMON PRACTICES

Parents are primary caregivers, not exclusive ones. Parental activity is hence more a matter of overseeing caregiving than direct action toward a child or intervention into relations between children. In many Polynesian households, a young woman of sixteen or so will be responsible for seeing household tasks completed, and so will exercise authority over younger children more frequently than any adult.

In Polynesian families, respect for elders is expected (Sahlins, 1970). Analysts have seen an intergenerational separation even in societies such as modern Hawaii where differences in rank are minimized (Boggs, 1985, D'Amato, 1986). Boggs (1985) describes hierarchical parent-child interactions in modern Hawaii in which children defer to elders, initiate few topics of conversation, and take only brief speaking turns.

In Polynesian households tasks are often assigned to the children as a unit, leaving to them the allocation of jobs. All the children are usually held responsible for task completion. Similarly, parents may set general behavioral guidelines; when violations occur, all children are blamed. Personal appeals to parents fail. D'Amato (1986) argues that this minimizes sibling rivalry.

Polynesian caregivers tend to minimize instruction and explanation (in both skills and moral issues) in favor of showing, and then pointing out, what is to be done (Levin, Brenner, & McClellan, 1987). Tahitian parents told Levy (1973) that they did not discuss bad behavior with children, as that would only suggest new ways for the children to act improperly.

Parents use shame controls to teach children both proper action and attentiveness to observer's opinion. Children are scolded for showing off or putting on airs. Praise, on the other hand, is conveyed indirectly or not at all.

Most students of Polynesia agree that these practices teach children to value social harmony and to expect punishment for disrupting orderly social relations

(Howard 1970; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1989). In reference to Hawaiians, Howard (1974) writes:

> an act . . . that is disruptive or threatening to group harmony is apt to be punished even though the offender's intentions are benign, while acts of much more dubious intent are likely to be ignored if they have no deleterious effects on others. (p. 209)

Socialization Goals

Howard (1974) compared "Hawaiian-Polynesian" and "Middle-American" cultural paradigms, stressing that modern Hawaiians value social affiliation and interpersonal harmony above all else. "Being with people and sharing experiences with them" (p. 204) is central to human life. In this paradigm, persons derive self-esteem from being able to comport themselves in complex social worlds.

The maintenance of smooth interpersonal ties is both expected and valued. Socialized persons are sensitive to group goals and others' feelings. They place group goals over personal ones, avoiding conflict and confrontation, holding their tongues even when they feel others are unjust or untruthful.

In this perspective, people invest in "social capital" rather than material capital. Both people and the world act to reciprocate acts of generosity, "what goes around, comes around," and generosity toward others assures good fortune for the family in the future (see also Ito, 1982, 1985).

> Social relationships take priority over all other concerns . . . and any form of behavior that can be interpreted as a means to personal gain at the expense of others . . . is in violation of the norm. (Howard, 1974, pp. 206–207)

Adults, in this view, should be able to secure a livelihood for themselves and their families. Material wealth is accumulated beyond a level needed for family subsistence largely to have resources to share with others—giving food, goods, and money to those who need them—and supporting an extended social network. Similarly, Ritchie and Ritchie write of New Zealand Maoris, "Property was for sharing; it was in the service of relationships" (1989, p. 106).

Howard explicitly contrasts Hawaiians' commitment to social relations with "Middle-Americans' " attempt to maximize personal potentials'. In the Middle-American paradigm, the development of personal potentials is most valued. This requires experimentation, innovation, and freedom from inhibiting social obligations. Stable relationships are sacrificed when people move to new places or into new relationships to increase their opportunities. Material wealth is acquired to increase opportunities for personal development and is also a symbol of success.

In this paradigm, people must internalize similar behavioral guidelines, since stable social relationships do not channel behavior regularly. Rules for interaction are general, not highly specific to settings and relationships. The reasonable and upright person has integrity, not sensitivity to interpersonal nuances. Principles are given priority over relationships.

GROWING UP MARQUESAN

Socialization Goals

Marquesans expect their children to eventually become 'mature adults' (*'enana motua*).[2] This term literally means 'parent persons.' Marquesans find maturity above all in the skills, commitment, and interpersonal sensitivity needed to run a household where others are nurtured. The mature have found or made their own place in the world. They can also deal with less familiar persons and situations.

Marquesans often speak of children as devoted to play, of adolescents as single-minded creatures of lust, and even of young married people as inattentive to their spouses and their children's needs. The route to maturity is long, and may seem roundabout. We will try to show, however, how Marquesans learn the skills and self-direction of the mature as they grow up.

One woman's account of cooperative work with her husband, exemplifies mature activity and interaction. When she and her husband go upland to cut copra, they work quickly and don't talk. He picks the coconuts and she gathers them. He splits the coconuts and she scrapes out the meat. Then, for the next sack of copra, they exchange roles and she splits the coconuts and he scrapes out the meat. They continue to alternate roles until the coconuts are processed. In this way they exercise their muscles evenly and don't get blisters. When their children accompany them, the work takes much longer. The parents spend a lot of time saying, "Do this, do that" and get mad at the children, who fool around and chatter the whole time.

These adults know the sequence of tasks in copra cutting, and have worked out their own way to work efficiently. As mature adults, they 'see what is to be done, and do it.' Children may not know particular tasks or the sequence of tasks in an activity, and cannot be trusted to work without prodding, according to their parents. The socialization process is geared toward producing *'enana motua*.

Contexts of Marquesan Parenting

The Marquesas Islands are located over 2,000 miles southeast of Hawaii and about 900 miles northeast of Tahiti. The islands support over 5,000 inhabitants. Today the islands are part of French Polynesia. Most Marquesans are Catholic.

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[2] Single quotes are used here for translations of Marquesan words or phrases mentioned as culturally important or typical. Double quotes are used to translate utterances of particular persons. Foreign words are underlined.

Young people grow up learning French and Tahitian as well as their own language, and many Marquesans have emigrated to Tahiti and beyond.

Our fieldwork was conducted mainly in two valleys on the island of ʻUa Pou. ʻUa Pou is a high, volcanic island, without an encircling reef or coastal plain. Its steep valleys are geographically separated by rugged ridges. In 1976, one valley where we worked had about 200 inhabitants, all Marquesan, while the other had over 800, including boarding school students and a dozen non-Marquesan (French or Tahitian) teachers and health professionals.

In the smaller valley, most houses were built on the steep slopes set back from a path, which ran upland on one side of a stream and then down to the sea on the other side. Near the rocky shore, a cleared area, a concrete bridge, and a boat ramp served as public space for the community.

Unlike Samoan villages, where many houses are located in sight of each other, Marquesan settlements are dispersed. Houses are usually set back from a major road or path. Marquesans state explicitly that they value distance between themselves and their neighbors, allowing them some freedom from others' observation and potential criticism.

Half the households in the two valleys were composed of nuclear families—parents and their children. (In this account, households headed by persons from outside the Marquesas are not counted. Also, no distinction is made here between children born to or fostered by a couple. "Parents" are usefully defined as stable adult caregivers.) The other households included more extended family groups. In only 4 out of 98 households did a couple or person live apart from others. On average, a household contained eight persons.

While Marquesans value a degree of privacy and independence, they typically live near kin. Land is subdivided among sibling heirs, whose homes form neighborhood groupings. Talk, borrowing, and informal cooperation usually link nearby households. Young children's early social experience is thus mainly of a circle of cousins.

All but a few households are economically self-sufficient, depending on a mix of wage labor—often temporary work on public works projects—gathering and preparation of cash crops (coconuts, copra), subsistence agriculture, and fishing. All work other than wage labor is usually conducted by members of a single household. Entire families may journey to upland plantations or uninhabited valleys to work land there. Fathers and sons often fish together, while female members of the household take greater responsibility for work near the house.

Marquesans in smaller valleys see most other residents of their valley daily. Children bring word back to the household of notable events. The valley is, then, a community of consociates, who share detailed biographical knowledge of each other.

Between ages 6 and 14, children are in school much of the time. Public school is available and mandatory (by French law) for children in that age range. On 'Ua Pou, children attended school in their home valley until age 9 or 10, then went to a boarding school in the most populous valley. Further education was available at public and church schools. In the 1970s, young people had to leave the island to complete secondary education and gain further training. Education was then seen as a route to well-paying government jobs. Most boys left school at 14. Many more girls—who had little prospect of wage labor—than boys remained in school.

Daily life. Daily life is organized around work for the household. Typically, in the smaller valley studied, men and older adolescent boys leave in the early morning to go fishing in outrigger canoes. Women clean house, wash clothes, prepare breadfruit, work in the garden, and (on some days) weave, iron, or fish from shore. Children get up, get their own breakfasts (coffee with milk, bread and jam, leftover fish), do light chores, mind infants, and go to school.

By late morning the men have returned from fishing. Children return from school and the family eats fish and *popoi*—a breadfruit-based food similar to Hawaiian *poi*—in their cookhouse. The children play for a while, then return to school until 3:30. Adults sit, talk or sleep for a while, and then work in the upland gardens or do jobs around the house.

Adults finish work by late afternoon, shower, sit and talk in household or neighborhood groups, or go down to a public area to watch volleyball and talk. Adolescents and young adults play volleyball. Children play on the bridges, in the stream, or in the sea until dusk when family members return home, shower, and eat a light meal.

In the evenings, children play in or near the house, read, do homework, and listen to Radio Tahiti. Adults talk and listen to the radio. Children go to sleep at dark with little coaxing. Adults follow soon after. Adolescent males gather in public areas in the evening to play guitar, sing, and talk. They reportedly sneak around the valley, climb into girls' houses, or meet girls in prearranged places to have sex.

On Sundays, church services and socializing afterwards take at least two hours of people's time. (Most Marquesans are Catholic; the rest are members of a Protestant church descended from Congregationalist missions.) Little work is done beyond meal preparation. Saturdays provide some families with an opportunity for family treks to farm sites. In other households, work is reduced. Children play in family groups and families may have picnics near the sea.

Socialization Across the Life Stages

Marquesan parents expect their children to eventually learn a range of skills: how to be competent householders; how to establish and maintain intimate relations at home and elsewhere; how to manage distant relations in the community;

and, how to exercise autonomy in a world of consociates. Children learn different skills at different stages and from different socializing agents.

Infancy (0–12 months)

During infancy, parenting focuses on feeding and protecting the baby, getting the baby interested in others, and structuring the baby's social world to enhance social learning. By the time babies are 1 year old, parents have tied them into social networks (Martini & Kirkpatrick 1981).

Many laps: Experiencing being cared for. As in other areas of Polynesia, babies are the center of household attention and are passed around at public gatherings. Adults of both sexes enjoy holding, watching, and commenting on their actions. Children compete to hold the baby and toddlers yearn to be big enough to do so.

As babies grow they come in contact with a larger social universe. In the first two months, they spend most of their time with their mothers and other coresident adults. Marquesans see this as a temporary, practical arrangement rather than an indication that the baby belongs to the mother. Parents believe newborns are particularly vulnerable to sickness and keep them in and near the house, cared for by the most competent members. The baby, however, is considered to be the family's baby ("our baby"), and from the time he or she can sit with support (about 4 months) he or she is passed freely among all family members, including 3-year-olds.

Women having their first babies tend to be living with their parents or the parents of the baby's father. Even firstborn children, then, will have older children to play with and care for them. Many Marquesan couples establish their own households once they have had one or two children, but their children still spend much time with nearby grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. For much of the day, babies are cared for by mothers, 15- to 17-year-old sisters, who have finished school, preschool children, and available grandparents. Fathers work away from home much of the day and school aged children are at school. In young families, mothers and preschool children may do the bulk of caregiving.

As soon as the baby can sit with support (usually around 4 months) he or she is taken everywhere with adults and adolescents and passed around to people from other households. Babies of seven or eight months are carried about by school-aged children.

When babies can walk, mothers release them into the care of preschool siblings who play with them near the house. Mothers periodically check on them but grant the preschooler some latitude in caring for infants.

Learning to attend to the social world. Mothers encourage babies to attend to the social world. In the first two months they hold infants in a face-to-face position and encourage them to "look at Mama." As soon as infants can sit, caregivers turn them to face outward and encourage them to attend to others: for example, "Wave hello," "Smile at brother." Caregivers interpret slight moves by the baby as attempts to initiate interaction: "Oh, you want to go to sister?"

Adult caregivers orchestrate the baby's early interactions. They teach preschoolers how to keep the baby engaged. They discourage babies from becoming self-absorbed, directing them to attend to others. They call their names, jostle them, and tell them to look at so-and so. If these efforts fail, they assume babies are tired and put them down to sleep.

They use the same techniques to jostle a crying baby back into contact. They believe some crying stems from babies being preoccupied with internal states. So, if a baby continues to cry after being fed, changed, and made comfortable, caregivers jostle them in order to return them to social life. They thus increase sensory stimulation to a crying baby, rather than decrease it. (In this, Marquesans differ from American mothers who believe babies cry because they are overstimulated.)

Early experiences of personal effectiveness. Caregivers indulge babies, except when babies are thought to be self-absorbed. Even young infants are treated as willful. Other people can deflect their will by distracting them, but rarely punish, threaten, or tell babies, "No." Caregivers help infants to accomplish their goals, and enlist older children in activities that exercise infant motor skills.

Marquesan adults hold babies as if they were separate beings. They either attend to the baby or put the baby down. They tend not to carry infants in a "blending" fashion or strapped to their bodies. They use well-formed speech, not an elaborated baby talk.

Toddlerhood (18 months–3 years)

Joining the sibling group. According to mothers, toddlers are most interested in playing with their siblings and cousins. They cry when siblings go off without them, leaving them home with mother. They want to sit with siblings at meals, sleep next to them, and join in their play. Mothers see this interest as natural. Children play, and act in ways close to the toddler's skill level, while adults work much of the day, do not imitate children's play forms, and are boring to the child.

Learning to be self-reliant. Mothers claim that toddlers develop skills because they want to be like their older siblings and want to be included in their play. Toddlers learn to run, climb, throw, feed themselves, dress themselves, and go outside to urinate and defecate through imitation. They imitate preschoolers as they do household chores.

Caregivers delight in toddlers' imperfect attempts to "do for themselves." One mother describes her 18-month-old:

> He tries to put his shorts on, but puts both legs in one hole. We all laugh. I say "come" and help him. Then he puts his head in the shirt sleeve. We laugh, he laughs, and I help him.

Caregivers value self-reliance. Households run more smoothly when children care for themselves. Also, as one mother explains: "What would the children do if I died and they didn't know how to care for themselves?"

Learning not to disrupt others. At 18 to 24 months, caregivers begin to expect children to be compliant and nondemanding when they are busy or irritable. This is a major shift from the earlier period in which caregivers met nearly every infant demand. The shift often coincides with the mother becoming pregnant with another child. Some mothers explain that they were tired and irritable at the time and worried that the older child would not learn to care for himself before the younger one arrived.

Caregivers do not tolerate prolonged displays of distress by toddlers. Mothers reported that they respond to an infant's cries with food, comfort, and distraction. When a toddler cries for a long time, however, the mother said they would hush the child, tell him to go to sleep, or ask why he was crying and, if he didn't give a reason, hit him.

On occasion, caregivers hit toddlers *until* they stop crying. For example:

> A grandmother sits with her adopted toddler in church. She initiates a handkerchief game with him when he becomes bored, but stops this when it disturbs a nearby woman. The toddler screams and grabs at the handkerchief. She slaps him and he screams louder. She continues to slap, prod and hit him with her rubber sandal until he stops screaming and begins to calm himself. At this point she puts him on her lap and comforts him.

Children learn that disruptive displays of anger, frustration, or sadness will not be tolerated and that parents will not comfort them until they begin to comfort themselves.

Learning when to be willful. In other situations, however, caregivers enjoy toddlers who make demands, tease, chatter, and make mischief (e.g., Mother: "Come, give me a kiss." Toddler: "No, Mama, you smell"). Toddlers learn to read contextual cues to know when to be obedient and when not to. Parents proudly talk about times their child stood up to adult authority. They laugh about children who talk all the time or who are incessantly demanding. One mother describes her toddler as a "Princess" who expects to be served. One day her toddler was lounging on the steps, sucking her thumb, eating a mango, and throwing the skin in the recently raked yard. Her father became angry and told her to pick up the peelings. She did so, the mother reported, "but not quickly." Toddlers receive the message that willfulness has its place.

Moving out in the world. Toddlers move out into the world under the wing of their siblings (Martini, in press). One-year-olds play near the house, but two-year-olds go to quite dangerous places (the boat ramp, elevated bridges, and the stream bed) with preschool siblings. There they play on the edges of the preschool children's play group. Siblings like to take toddlers with them because they enjoy their company, they gain status with peers by acting as caregivers (Martini, 1984b) and because the arrangement enables them to play away from home. However, they teach toddlers that they can stay with the group only if they keep themselves safe, stay out of the way of the group activity, and make few demands on the older sibling.

Toddlers learn that they need to be self-reliant and nondisruptive in the peer group as well as at home.

The Preschool Period (3–5 years)

Learning to do household tasks. Preschoolers are already quite self-reliant. They know how to wash, dress, and feed themselves. They learn simple household skills at this point, and may be expected to gather wood, pick up leaves, sweep, and run to the store on errands. They watch others work and then perform the task once they know how. Mothers praise them indirectly by mentioning their skills to others. Adults discourage children from fooling around with tools, wasting materials, and from improvising new ways to use tools. Caregivers call children "babies" if they refuse to care for themselves or if they do simple tasks poorly.

Adults test how young children will do in more complicated work situations. One father took his 4-year-old fishing, hoping the boy would be able to light his cigarettes while he paddled or fished with both hands. The boy fell asleep, however, and lost the privilege of going fishing. For weeks, people teased him for falling asleep. Young children want to accompany and be like adults. They are allowed to do so if they do not disrupt the work.

Although adults rely on preschoolers, mothers say they have no sense of responsibility and only work if bribed or threatened.

Learning to care for younger children. At age 3 or 4, many Marquesan children begin to care for younger siblings or cousins. Mothers show them how to feed, calm, and entertain babies of about 4 months. Caregivers give squalling babies to 4-year-olds to calm. The young child becomes upset if caregivers do not give him *his* crying baby. The young child takes his job seriously and learns the baby's likes, dislikes, and habits.

When babies can walk, preschoolers begin caring for them away from home. They help toddlers make the transition to the peer group. They share food and objects with the toddlers and protect them from rough behavior by others. The young children often become good friends and neither wants to go play without the other. Mothers report that preschoolers who help with younger siblings are rarely jealous of them, whereas toddlers, with limited caregiving skills, often are.

Experiencing solidarity in the sibling group. Parents encourage siblings to share, discourage jealousy, and avoid supporting one child against another. One mother of 12 reports:

> Sometimes children are jealous of each other. When I *hakatuetue* ['cherish'] one, the other gets mad and says I'm paying more attention to the other. . . . Some days they fight each other. When they do, I hit them. If I don't, the jealousy won't go away. I say to them, ''Don't be jealous. I cherish all of you. You are all the same. There's only one mother for all of you. Don't be jealous.''

In addition, parents accept that the sibling group may pit itself against their authority, as a solidary group. They see this as unavoidable. They may respond with threats, but rarely act on these. While adults worked frantically for weeks to prepare for the Bastille Day festival, preschool children made and blew whistles. Parents yelled at the children, but the children laughed, ran away, and made even more noise. Adults responded with resignation.

Learning to relate to distant others. Since preschool children roam the valley, parents feel the need to teach them proper behavior around less familiar adults. They warn them not to steal, beg, borrow, enter, or eat at others' houses, ask intrusive questions, cause trouble or be stingy. They tell them that other people will say they are bad parents if the children misbehave. When children return home, mothers ask questions such as: ''Did you steal anything today?'' ''Did you fight with your friends?'' Adults scold children—their own and others'—for playing too close to their houses, begging candy, or asking to borrow. Children develop an aversion to borrowing or even going into others' yards. Parents encourage children to be generous with siblings and cousins, but to avoid situations in which they need to share with other children. Children are told that their generosity can deplete the household's supply of goods.

Becoming active participants in the peer group. Three- and four-year-olds are expected to participate in joint peer activities, rather than play at the margins of the group. They learn to attend to other children's cues. Earlier they learned to monitor adults, to see whether adults would interact with them; in the peer group they must scan others to learn what the shared activity is. After a year or two, they will shape the definition of the situation to which younger children must adapt (Martini, in press, 1984a).

School-aged Children (5–12)

Becoming a responsible member of the household. School-aged children become increasingly skillful in such household tasks as mending and washing clothes, feeding animals, and gardening. They can coordinate tasks to complete larger jobs, such as cooking meals, and they can work in groups. Nonetheless, parents complain that the children are irresponsible. They are insensitive to the needs of the household and only work if told:

> Adult thinking involves providing for all of us in our household; the adult sees that there is a lot of work to do and he does it. In this way all of us in the household are provided for. There's enough food . . . Children's thinking involves just sitting there. He doesn't see what work needs to be done; he doesn't see that the food needs to be cooked; that one needs to go get breadfruit and bananas. If I don't say "do that work," they don't work and we go hungry. They know how to do that work—cooking the food—but if I don't tell them, they don't work.

Away from adults' critical view, school-aged children act responsibly. They perceive and respond to the needs of siblings. They organize work groups and care for each other when away at boarding school.

Parents may maintain the image of incompetent children in order to bolster their own identities as 'mature adults.' A person is a mature provider only if there are needy dependents to support. Adults may also derive vicarious pleasure from a view of childhood as a time of resistance to practical and social constraints. Mothers also say that criticism motivates children to work harder, and keeps them from becoming self-important.

Controlling emotional display. Children continue to learn to control the display of emotions. Asked what she would do if her child became very angry at her, one mother replied:

> I say, "Go take a shower and go to sleep." He goes and takes a shower and goes to sleep. His anger goes away. Before the next day even, his anger has gone away.

Parents do not encourage children *not to feel* anger, frustration, or sadness, but rather not to disrupt or manipulate others with these feelings.

Experiencing solidarity at home. There appears to be a deep split between adult and child generations. Parents often dismiss children as incompetent, irresponsible, and stubborn; children often band together to resist adult authority. Actually, however, parents and children interact frequently and warmly. School-aged children are considered to be competent conversational partners and adults draw on children's superior knowledge of valley events. At home, children sit near adults and participate in all but the most serious conversations. They initiate topics, take long speaking turns, and adults listen to their input. Mothers report that they enjoy their children's company and discuss events with older children in much the way they talk with adult friends.

Moving out in the world. In school, children come in contact with children from distant areas of the valley. After a few years, primary school children move from the now familiar valley to the island boarding school (Martini, 1984c).

Children make each transition from familiar to unfamiliar social domains in the company of familiar others. Their friends come with them. In the new setting they make new friends, who then accompany them to the next larger social domain.

Experiencing solidarity in the peer group. Home valley children support each other at the government boarding school. Roughly 100 children attend the school. The 50 girls live in one large dormitory, the boys in another. Each group has one adult supervisor. The children spend 10 months a year for at least five years living together in this setting.

Same-valley children share food, clothing, school supplies, and letters from home. They help each other with homework and cleaning tasks. They do not fight each other's battles, but they stand by if a member is hurt, embarrassed, angry, or homesick. They extend skills they learned in caring for siblings and accepting sibling care, to all children in their valley group.

Dealing with large groups. Children find themselves novices in peer groups once again when they enter boarding school. They need to learn to deal with constraints of this large group. The process of learning social networks, activities, and roles, and eventually learning to initiate joint activity, resembles earlier socialization. In school, however, children are increasingly able to become *hani* ('accustomed') to each other, becoming friends, not just coparticipants in play.

Adolescence and Young Adulthood

Marquesans often speak of adolescents as *taure 'are 'a* "wild youth" who abandon all thought for others in the pursuit of pleasure. Young people are more likely to be trying to combine domestic loyalties with the development of new relations with peers.

During these years, young people develop cross-sex liaisons and learn to maintain dyadic commitments despite competing demands from the peer group and, in some cases, their households. At age 14, most young people leave school. Continued schooling is valued by parents who hope their children will become qualified for civil service jobs. Young women are far more likely than young men to stay in school, partly because they have fewer alternatives. Young men can earn money as laborers on 'Ua Pou or abroad, and most look forward to travel when called for military service at age 18.

At age 14, girls who leave school take up domestic responsibilities that they have largely learned already. They come to manage a household, not just perform tasks. Young men may have much to learn about fishing, copra work, and wage labor, but acquire skills in a few years. Soon, however, young people feel they are highly competent, but parents are likely to grant them little credit.

Young people labor under a contradiction between their domestic status as dependents and aspirations to be adult. The contradiction is not resolved until they establish their own households, and can 'direct themselves.' Parents' role in socialization is limited during this period. Parents provide a home for young couples, but such living arrangements almost always prove unstable. By offering little acknowledgement of young people's accomplishments, parents push them to find partners and a place in the world where they can support themselves.

Summary: Socialization Themes

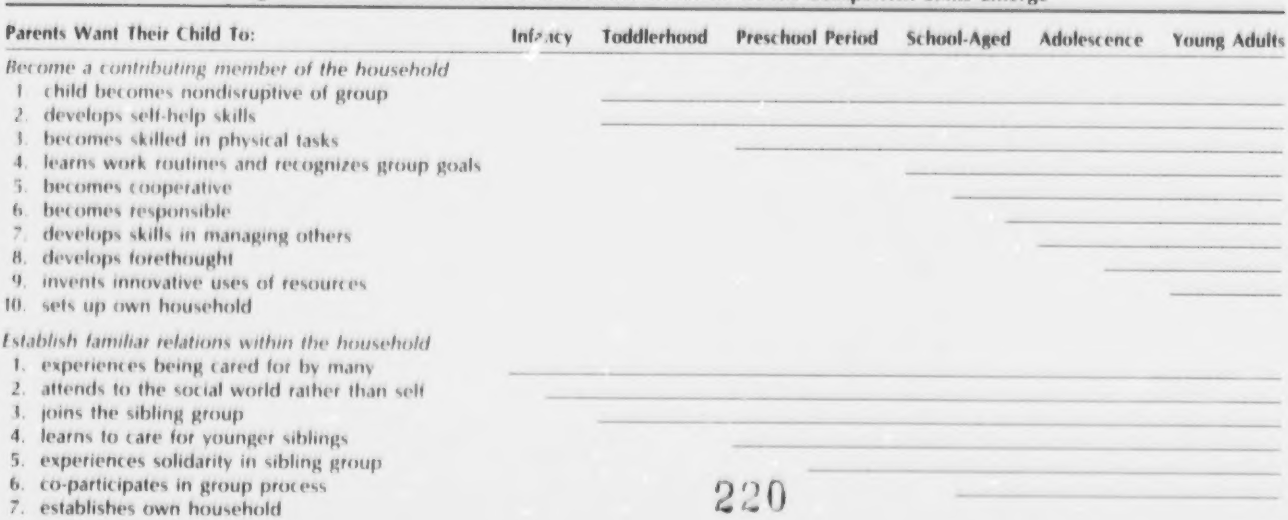
In the course of becoming *'enana motua,* Marquesans learn at least five sets of skills: (a) how to be a competent householder, (b) how to establish and maintain familiar relations at home, (c) how to establish and maintain familiar relations away from home, (d) how to manage smooth, distant relations in the community, and (e) how to exercise autonomy within a social world of consociates. People learn component skills for each set in an orderly progression across different stages of the life cycle, as indicated in Figure 13.1.

Becoming a competent householder. Young children learn to attend to the group, control emotional display, and care for themselves. They learn work skills and how to link these to complete jobs. They become cooperative and learn how to coparticipate in group projects. By later childhood they begin to "see what needs doing and do it" without being told. By adolescence they are skilled in running households and begin to exhibit forethought—thinking about future household needs and taking steps to meet these. In young adulthood, they go off to acquire new adaptive skills and the material resources needed to start their own households.

Establishing and maintaining relations within the household. Infants learn to be cherished by and to attend to a large network of people. They learn there are many people to turn to for comfort. Infants and toddlers learn to attend to the social world, rather than to self-absorbed activities. Preschoolers learn basic skills in caring for and about less skilled others. Children experience sibling solidarity as they care for each other and as they live and work together, with little adult mediation. Children develop close ties with parents as they become colleagues in maintaining the household and as they share with them their lives away from home.

Establishing relations outside the household. Children move out into larger and larger social worlds, but in the company of supportive others. Friends, like parents, do not try to protect the child from the difficult realities of group participation. They do not try to smooth the way or make the process fair. But they stand by as a familiar group to which the child can retreat when he or she is momentarily tired of trying to cope. Children gradually learn to deal with social constraints in a good-natured way, deflecting taunts with humor, and avoiding confrontation while still doing, more or less, what they want. In addition, they learn to transform distant others into friends, and to expand their network of associates to very distant others.

Figure 13.1. Socialization Goals and the Order in Which Component Skills Emerge



Establish familiar relations outside the household

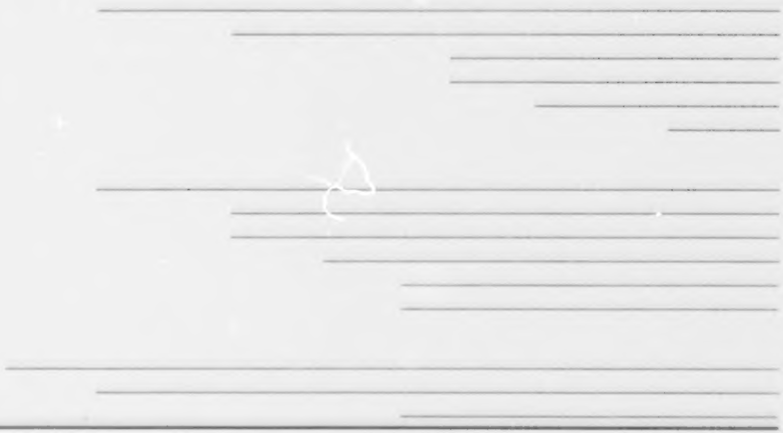
1. move out in the world
2. becomes active member of the peer group
3. receives care from non-household peers
4. extends care to non-household peers
5. expands networks of familiar others
6. settles down, marries

Manage smooth distant relations

1. moves out in the world
2. joins the peer group
3. recognizes social constraints
4. accepts social constraints
5. manages social constraints
6. trains others in group process

Exercise autonomy within a social world

1. experiences personal effectiveness
2. learns when to exercise autonomy
3. learns how to exercise autonomy



Exercising autonomy within a social world. Marquesans value group participation but reject the idea of persons submitting to authority. The ideal situation is one in which people have similar or complementary goals and willingly collaborate in a mutually beneficial activity without anyone dominating anyone else. Young children learn *that* autonomy is valued and then learn when and how to exercise it while still being group members.

The role of parents in socialization. Parents play a crucial though often invisible role in the socialization process. They teach, model, or set up optimal situations for the emergence of the above skills in the early years of the child's life at home. The child then takes this learning and extends it outward in ever widening social realms. Children learn to read contextual cues, to exercise responsibility, and experience concern for others at home and then apply these to peer interactions. They develop self-direction while cooperating at home, and then apply this to peer group process.

Parents watch their children, ask them about their lives and have detailed knowledge of how they are faring even when the children live in other valleys or on Tahiti. Parents try to shape children's values by demonstrating valued characteristics of *'enana motua*. But parents rarely intervene in the details of their children's lives. Personal skills and identity are experienced as one's own accomplishments.

The development of personal autonomy. Lessons in controlling emotional displays begin in toddlerhood. They culminate in a long-suffering tolerance for others' taunts, and a wary expectation that others will disparage almost any personal characteristic, taste, or venture. Marquesans note that others' disapproval should not inhibit people, since gossip is inevitable. (Still, they are often unwilling to risk that disapproval, for they will likely live with it for a long time.)

Children learn to read contextual cues and to adapt to group activities with little explicit negotiation, so long as they deal with a circle of peers or a household of people with shared aims. Adolescents learn to take risks in establishing interpersonal ties, both with members of the opposite sex and with persons from afar whom they meet in their journeys. These skills seem less reliable when a larger, more varied population is involved, and when shared aims cannot be easily defined. As householders, Marquesans can provide the context in which group activities occur and relations with outsiders are channeled into hospitality.

Although Marquesans speak simply of 'directing oneself,' 'obtaining one's own life,' and 'finding a fit place to live,' these processes lead to a level of personal organization—combining psychological, social, bodily, and material resources to maintain a prosperous, hospitable household—that is appropriately termed "autonomy." Householders draw on skills learned throughout their domestic career, caring attitudes that emerge from beginnings in sibling caregiving, self-reliance, and self-direction encouraged in both domestic and peer settings. Marquesans' personal organization is the residue of cultural and interactional lessons learned through the life course, and of personal responses to those lessons.

Marquesans' autonomy is not experienced as psychological—it is more concrete, being realized in a home full of children, food, and activities organized by householders. Yet it is personal, in at least two senses: (a) it is experienced as an outcome of personal development, and (b) each such household rests on stratagems whereby personal skills and proclivities can yield effective results. The stratagems may be simple, such as one couple's exchanging of work roles to avoid strain in copra work, but they are based in personal characteristics, not social rules. As a result, Marquesan adults experience their well-being as grounded in distinctive personhood and domestic life, not in conformity to the demands of society.

POLYNESIAN PARENTING THEMES FROM A STANDPOINT IN THE MARQUESAS

As noted earlier, Marquesan social life is less stratified, and people are involved in fewer organized groups than in many Polynesian societies. Data from the Marquesas hence complement reports from Western Polynesia which have shaped images of Polynesian socialization. The Marquesan case suggests four lines of reinterpretation.

1. *The importance of caregiving to adult identities.* While analysts agree that fosterage is widespread in Polynesia, attention has focused on messages to and about children conveyed in the practice. Messages about adult life are also conveyed—above all, that maturity is enacted and demonstrated to others in the creation and maintenance of a household. Adults need children if their establishment of a separate space is to count as more than a selfish withdrawal from others' criticism.

2. *Intergenerational distance.* Marquesan parents do not interact with small children so much as organize a domestic space in which those children can act and interact with others. Near-agemates are important social partners, starting in the first year of life. Children are encouraged to emulate slightly older children. Adults monitor children's activities, but intervene sparingly. They accommodate to those activities, largely granting children the time and space they claim for peer relations.

We see intergenerational distance developing as a consequence of (a) cultural emphases on relations with near-agemates, and (b) adult assumptions that they, as domestic providers, think and act mainly in ways that children do not. Elaborate status distinction are not needed. Again, no intergenerational hostility need be presumed.

3. *The notion of maturity.* Marquesans and Tahitians similarly value 'maturity' (Levy, 1973). A sense that competent householders are respected as such emerges from other studies of Polynesia (notably Firth, 1936, 1964). However, little attention has been paid to developmental goals for both men and women, persons of rank and commoners (but see Pukui et al., 1972, on *kanaka makua*). Further study of Polynesian understandings seems warranted to identify developmental goals which, we suspect, may well be widespread.

4. *The presumption of autonomy.* Training for autonomy is evident in the course and goals of Marquesan socialization. This contrasts with goals such as subordination to community consensus emphasized by Polynesians elsewhere. Assumptions about persons and development turn out, however, to be shared in large part.

When Samoans insist on deference to superordinates and community leaders, they stress that persons would act wildly without superordinates' guidance (Shore, 1982). Persons' own wills are expected to be asocial. Marquesans make similar claims, but phrase them a bit differently. With authorities such as priests and policemen present, people remember to act properly; without them, people might well act only to meet personal desires. In other words, Samoans and Marquesans agree on a portrait of man outside society, but discuss the controls guiding social participation differently.

We suspect that similar notions of co-participation and of skills needed in social life are widespread in Polynesia. The Marquesan data, along with recent studies of the ambiguities of stratification in Polynesian life (Marcus 1980, 1984, 1990) challenge students of Polynesia to ask how Polynesians understand their participation in the social order.

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14

The Parent-Infant Relationship and Social-Emotional Development Among Aka Pygmies*

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Western theories of child development are usually based upon research with suburban white middle-class families. One problem with this approach is that the developmental psychologist often assumes or is led to believe that the processes and stages of child development are "natural" and universal. When the "grand" theories of developmental psychology (e.g., Freud, Erikson, and Piaget) are presented to college undergraduates, it is easy for the student to assume that the processes and stages of child development are experienced by children in all parts of the world. Seldom is the cross-cultural applicability or the cultural context of the theory considered. This chapter does not attempt to dismiss or reject existing theories of child social-emotional development, but simply aims to: (a) describe the cultural setting of Aka Pygmy parent-infant relations as they influence the Aka child's social-emotional development, and (b) evaluate the applicability of Western theories of social-emotional development for understanding Aka child development.

This chapter describes a relationship between Aka parent–infant relations and the development of autonomy and cooperation. Developmental psychologists generally associate emotional and social well-being with autonomy and cooperation with others. Researchers generally identify socially competent children (Ainsworth, 1973; Baumrind, 1973; Erikson, 1950; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) with some of the following characteristics: self-reliant, self-control, self-directing, independent, demonstrates empathy to others, infrequent aggression towards others, friendliness, and social maturity. This chapter examines the very early development of autonomy and cooperation among the Aka and assumes these to be important measures of social and emotional development. Other components of the culture, besides the parent-infant relationship, influence and are influenced by the Aka child's social-emotional development, but this chapter considers the importance of Aka parent-infant relations in the child's development. The chapter emphasizes parent-infant (up to about 2 years of age) relations because it is the stage in which Aka parents invest the most direct time and energy in their children. Once another baby is born (birth spacing is about 3–4 years), parents continue to invest in their children (by providing food and staying near them), but are seldom actively involved in their care. As children become more mobile and their parents are occupied with a newborn, children are more likely to spend their time with other adults and children, rather than with parents.

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Both quantitative and qualitative methods are utilized to describe Aka parent-infant relations and the development of autonomy and cooperation. Descriptions of parent–infant relations are based upon a quantitative study of 15 Aka families. The study utilized all-day and partial-day infant and father focal behavioral observational techniques to measure similarities and differences in mothers' and fathers' infant caregiving style (see Hewlett, 1991a, for greater detail on methodology). Science measures of autonomy and cooperation were not part of this study. Indirect evidence from the parent-infant study and qualitative data are utilized to discuss the development of autonomy and cooperation.

My first fieldwork with the Aka was conducted in 1973–74. Since then I have returned to the field seven times. The quantitative data on the 15 Aka families were collected in 1984, but I have visited the 15 families several times since the initial study.

THE AKA—GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Aka parent–infant relationship and social-emotional development are embedded within a cultural nexus—they influence and are influenced by cultural systems. This section makes specific links between general features of the Aka cultural system, the parent-infant,relationship, and the development of autonomy and cooperation. Greater ethnographic detail on the Aka can be found in Hewlett (1991a) and Bahuchet (1985).

The Aka are hunter-gatherers of the tropical rain forests of southern Central African Republic and northern Peoples' Republic of the Congo. They live in camps of 25 to 35 people and move camp every two weeks to two months. Each nuclear family has a hut, and each camp generally has five to eight huts arranged in a circle. The circle of huts is about 12 meters in diameter and each hut is about 1.5 meters in diameter. Each hut has one bed of leaves or logs on which everyone in the family sleeps. The Aka have patriclans and many members of a camp belong to the same patriclan (generally a camp consists of brothers, their wives and children, and unrelated men who are doing bride service for the sisters of the men in camp). The Aka have high fertility and mortality rates: A woman generally has five to six children during her lifetime; one-fifth of the infants die before reaching 12 months and 43 percent of children die before reaching 15 years.

The physical and social setting of Aka parent-infant relations can be inferred from the above discussion of Aka settlement and demography. The infant lives with a relatively small group of individuals related through his or her father (unless the infant is the first-born in which case the family is likely to be in the camp of the wife for the purposes of bride service) and sleeps in the same bed as mother, father, and other brothers and sisters. Life in the camp is rather intimate. While the overall population density is quite low (less than one person per square km), living space is quite dense. Three or four people sleep together on the same bed and neighbors are just a few feet away. The 25 to 35 camp members live in an area about the size of a large Euroamerican living room. The Aka home represents the "public" part of life, while time outside of camp tends to be relatively "private". This is the reverse of the Euroamerican pattern (i.e., home is usually considered private). The camp is relatively young as half of the members of the camp are under 15 and most women have a nursing child throughout their childbearing years.

The Aka rely heavily on net hunting for their subsistence. Men, women, and children participate in the net hunt. Nets are set up in a semicircle, men go to the center of the nets, and women stay near the net. When a sound is given men in the center of the nets start to shout and pound the ground with logs to flush out and scare the game (primarily antelopes) into the nets. Women have the role of tackling the game in the net and killing the animal. Game captured is eventually shared with everyone in camp. Some parts of the game animal are smoked and eventually traded to Bantu and Sudanic farmers for manioc or other domesticate foods. Net hunting does not take place when: there has been heavy rain; specific fruits, nuts, caterpillars, termites, or honey are in season and easily collected; or the camp has moved into the village for part of the year to work for villagers. Aka utilize a diversity of other hunting techniques when the net hunt is not possible (e.g., cross-bow, spear, small traps). The Aka have strong economic and religious ties to the tropical forest. The forest is perceived as provider and called friend, lover, mother, or father.

The subsistence patterns provide data about the physical and social context of parent–infant relations outside of camp. Infants are taken on the net hunt and are with or near mother and father at all times when they are out of camp. The number and types of individuals the infant experiences diminishes from time in the camp as each family sets up and guards their own net. Infants view the roles and activities of both mothers and fathers and physically experience subsistence activities with them. Parents chase game, kill, butcher, and share game while holding their infants. The organization of the net hunt and the sharing of game and other items imply that it benefits parents to encourage their children to be cooperative. The extensive cooperation and sharing increases survival as it diminishes the risk of not getting any food. Not every family captures game each day, but the few families that do capture game share with everyone in the camp. Some families do not capture game in their nets for a week or more, but are provided game or other food items by other family members in the camp.

The high fertility and the nature of the net hunt also directly influences parent–infant relations. Most women have a child to carry during their reproductive years. The net hunt requires that women walk 8–12 km per day which means that it is not possible to ask older sibling to carry infants. Sibling caregivers are common in horticultural societies, but siblings provide assistance to their mothers around the house or in the fields. Since most of the other women have children to carry and siblings are not available, fathers or adult men are the only others around to help out with child care. Unlike many other societies, Aka fathers are important contributors to infant and childhood care.

There are other features of Aka culture that are important to the discussion of parent–infant relations. The Aka utilize an immediate return social-economic system. The Aka do not delay their consumption of foods hunted and collected during the day; there is an immediate return on time and energy expenditure. This is unlike most farming and industrialized systems where one has to work today for a return months or years away. The immediate return system has implications for social relations. In farming or delayed return systems, individuals are tied to specific others who have invested time and energy in the cultivated land, whereas in immediate return systems individuals are not bound by a delay in investment—social relations are much more flexible. If hunting is poor or one is not getting along with his neighbor it is easy to get up and move to another camp. This leads to another feature of Aka culture—flexibility. Changes in camp composition occur daily. People leave to visit friends, attend a dance, hunt with other relatives, search for a new spouse, and so on. While extended family is very important among the Aka, one cannot expect to rely upon the extended family or specific others for extensive support.

The Aka are also fiercely egalitarian. They have a number of mechanisms to maintain individual, intergenerational, and sexual equality. Three of the mechanisms are prestige avoidance, rough joking, and demand sharing. Aka try to avoid drawing attention to oneself, even if one has killed an elephant or cured someone's life-threatening illness. If an individual does boast about his abilities it is possible that he could share less or request more from others in the belief that he or she was better than others. If an individual does start to draw attention to himself others in the camp will use rough and crude jokes, often about his genitals, in order to get the individual to be more modest about his or her abilities. Demand sharing also helps to maintain egalitarianism—if an individual likes or wants something (cigarettes, necklace, shirt) of another he simply asks for it, and the person generally gives it to him or her. Demand sharing promotes the circulation of scarce material goods (e.g., shoes, shirt, necklaces, spear points) in the camp.

The immediate return system and egalitarianism imply that it is important to be flexible and autonomous. An individual cannot rely on specific others for extended support, does not expect to acquire resources from others when he gets older, if he is male, or if he is in a leadership position. The individual also has to be able to respond quickly to changes in the availability of resources or social tensions in the group.

The rough joking mentioned above is also linked to another feature of Aka culture—playfulness. There is no clear separation between "work" and "play" time. Dances, singing, net hunting, male circumcision, sorcery accusations all include humorous mimicking, practical jokes, and exaggerated storytelling. Aka life is informal because of egalitarianism and the playful activity that occurs throughout the day by both adults and children. Play is an integral part of both adult and child life and contributes to enhanced parent–child and adult–child communication. Parents and adults have an extensive repertoire of play and can and do communicate cultural knowledge to children through their playful repertoire.

Finally, the distinctive features of the Aka husband-wife relationship should be mentioned. Aka husband-wife relations are striking by cross-cultural standards because they spend so much time together cooperating in a number of activities. Most of the year husband and wife cooperate on the net hunt. The couple sets up the net together, cooperate to get the game into their net, share in the butchering of the animal, and rest together between casts of the nets. While there are clearly male and female roles on the net hunt, role reversals take place daily and individuals are not stigmatized for taking the roles of the opposite sex. If one does the task poorly, regardless of whether it is a masculine or feminine task, then one is open to joking and teasing by others (e.g., when the anthropologist chases the game in the wrong direction). When net hunting is not possible due to rain or other social or environmental reasons, husband and wife engage in other cooperative activities—collecting caterpillars, honey, mushrooms, nuts and fruits. Husband and wife also spend considerable leisure time together dancing, singing, and repairing the net. Husband and wife also eat together and sleep in the same small bed. There is no other culture in which husband and wife spend so much time together, especially in intensive cooperative activity (Hewlett, 1991b).

Numerous studies in developmental psychology (Easterbrooks & Emde, 1989; Belsky, Rovine, & Fish, 1989; Lewis & Weinraub, 1976) have indicated that husband–wife relations are crucial for understanding mother–child or father–child relations. Generally the studies indicate that if husband–wife relations are warm and close then parents are more sensitive and responsive to their child's needs and that fathers are more likely to become involved in child care (Belsky, Rovine, & Fish 1989). The Aka data tend support the psychological studies in that both the husband–wife and the father–infant relationship of the Aka are exceptional by cross-cultural standards.

AKA INFANCY

Cultural practices during infancy are quite distinct from those found in Euroamerican cultures. Aka parents are indulgent—the infant is held almost constantly, nursed on demand (breastfed several times per hour), attended to immediately if she/he fusses, and is seldom, if ever, told "no! no!" if he or she misbehaves (e.g., get into food pots, hit others, or take things from other children). Older infants (8–12 months) are given considerable freedom to crawl around the hut and camp. They are allowed to use and play with knives, machetes, and other "adult" items. They are allowed to crawl into a parent's lap while the parent is engaged in economic (e.g., butchering animal, repairing net, etc.) or leisure (e.g., playing a harp or drum) activity. While older infants are given considerable freedom to explore the house and camp, parents do watch infants to make sure they do not crawl into the fire.

While in the camp there is extensive multiple caregiving of 1–4 month-old infants (Hewlett, 1989). Mother holds the infant only 40 percent of the time and the infant is transferred to individuals 7.3 times per hour. Mothers' holding increases to 85 percent and the transfer rate drops to 2 transfers per hour outside of the camp (i.e., on net hunt or in fields). Fathers are the second most important provider of infant care. During daylight hours they provide about one hour of holding and over a 24-hour period are within an arms reach of their infant over 47 percent of the day (Hewlett, 1991a). While multiple caregiving is extensive, mother and father are by far the primary caregivers and most of the "others" that do provide the care are genetically related to the infant (e.g., infant's grandmother, aunt, uncle, cousin, etc.). Multiple caregiving diminishes in late infancy (8–12 months). Older infants are transferred 1.3 times per hour in camp and only 0.2 times per hour out of camp. Older infants are held about half of the time while they are in the camp setting which may help to explain the lower transfer rate while in camp, but the older infants are held all of the time while out in the forest and where the transfer rate drops even more dramatically.

Aka infants are seldom placed in the care of older siblings. Older siblings or children in the group are not given the responsibility of caring for infants as is found in many non-Western farming communities (Weisner & Gallimore, 1977; Chapter 13, this volume).

Aka infancy is very active and stimulating. Infants are taken on the hunt and are seldom laid down. They are held on the side of the caregiver rather than the back as in many farming communities so there is extensive opportunity for parent–infant face-to-face interaction and communication. The infant can also breastfeed by simply grabbing the mother's breast and can breastfeed while the mother walks. While out on the net hunt the infant will sleep in the infant sling. Aka therefore experience extensive vestibular stimulation as described by Konner (1976) among the !Kung San. Direct teaching by mother and father of subsistence skills also begins in late infancy (8–12 months). While sitting down on the net hunt either resting or waiting for the hunt to begin, parents will give the infant a small spear, digging stick, or knife and show him/her the movements with the object. This point is discussed at greater length below. Developmental testing of Aka infants indicates that they are mildly precocious in their motor and cognitive development (Neuwelt-Truntzer, 1981).

AKA CHILDHOOD

The Aka child is able to walk by 12 months and explore a more extensive area. The 1-year-old spends more time by herself imitating and experimenting in various cultural activities. Outside of camp parents continue to carry the child, and parents continue to instruct the young child in subsistence activities while out hunting and gathering.

Sometime during the second year of life the child's mother becomes pregnant again. This stage of the child's development is called *djosi* by the Aka. The mother might try to wean the child if he has not already weaned himself, and the mother now begins to get ready for the next infant. With the birth of the infant the mother has less time for the 3-year-old. Most adolescents questioned about this weaning period indicate that it is not a stressful time. The child is still indulged and there are no dramatically new expectations for the child. It is still a time of play, but increasingly more time is spent with other adults and children in camp. In many horticultural societies this is when indulgence stops dramatically and the child is encouraged to be obedient to adults. The 3–4-year-old children are the ones most likely to be left behind in camp. Mother carries the newborn. The father may decide to carry the child, especially if he is a younger father. Three- to four-year-olds engage in subsistence and social play and cook for themselves when they stay behind in camp with one or two other adults. By the time they are 6–7 years of age they are taken on the net hunts on a more regular basis as they can generally keep up on their own. If a 6–9-year-old has a grandparent in camp they will often sleep with them.

Most children remain in mixed adult–child groups in and out of camp until they reach 7–9 years of age. Once children near adolescence they tend to spend more time with similar age friends and children rather than adults. Figures 14.1 and 14.2 are derived from data collected by Nuwelt-Truntzer (1981) and illustrate the gradual decline in the amount of time children spend in the company of adults. Adolescents tend to travel a lot on their own to visit family and friends, go to dances and to search for a potential spouse. In camp, adolescent boys and

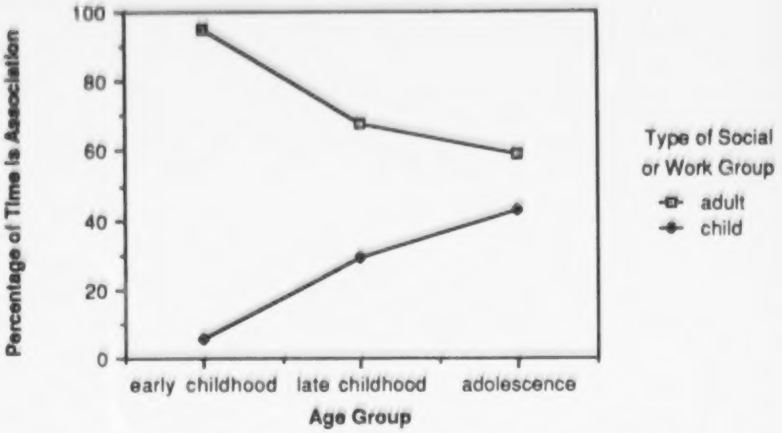

Figure 14.1. Children's work or social group outside of camp setting

girls tend to keep separate spaces, but outside of camp, on the hunt and while traveling, they are frequently together.

By the time adolescence arrives Aka children know most of the skill necessary to survive in the forest alone or with other children of similar age. I asked sixteen 7–12-year-olds how many of 50 important subsistence and social skills they knew, and most of them knew 75 percent of the skills (Hewlett & Cavalli-Sforza, 1986). The Aka children knew how to: kill and butcher a large duiker, soothe a 5-day-old infant, identify a variety of edible mushrooms and caterpillars, make medicines for sick children, trap porcupines, and plant manioc.

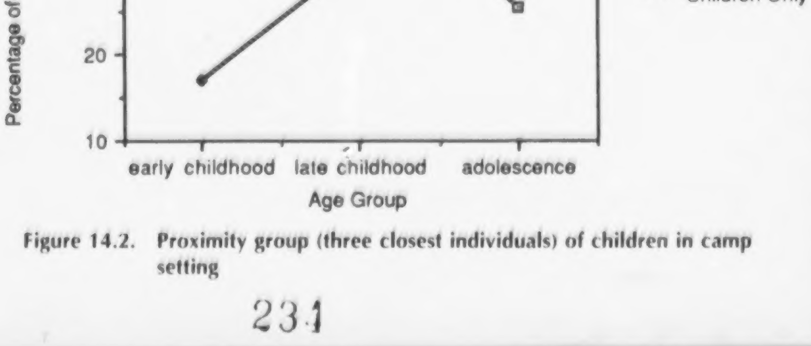

Figure 14.2. Proximity group (three closest individuals) of children in camp setting

PARENT–INFANT RELATIONS

There are three areas of parent–infant relations that are critical for understanding the development of autonomy and cooperation in Aka infants: the frequency of mother– and father–infant interactions, the diversity of activities mothers and fathers engage in with the infant, and the sensitivity of parent–infant interactions.

First, the Aka mother, father, and infant know each other exceptionally well because they are together so much of the time. Mother's and father's degree of familiarity with the infant's facial expressions, sounds, and body movements are extensive. One- to four-month-old infants are held constantly in the camp (Figure 14.3). Mothers are the primary caregivers, holding their infants most of the time in camp and out on the net hunt, but fathers are the second most important caregivers and hold the infants over an hour during daylight hours. Between sunset and 9 p.m. (when most Aka go to bed when there is no dance) fathers spend one-fourth of their time holding their infant. Mothers time and investment is certainly greater than that of the father. Mother, father, and infant sleep in the same bed, and it is usually the father who gets up in the middle of the night to soothe a fussy infant that does not want to nurse.

Second, parents engage in a diverse range of activities with their infants. Infants are exposed to all dimensions of the adult world. They are on their parents' side when the parent dances, sings, plays the drums, runs after an antelope, cooks, defecates, and so on. Fathers intrinsically value their role as infant caregivers, so they are willing to hold and care for their infants in various settings. Fathers carry their infants when they go out drinking palm wine with other men (they usually give some to the infant), when they are making string for their nets, and when they are dancing. Since mother provides most of the care the

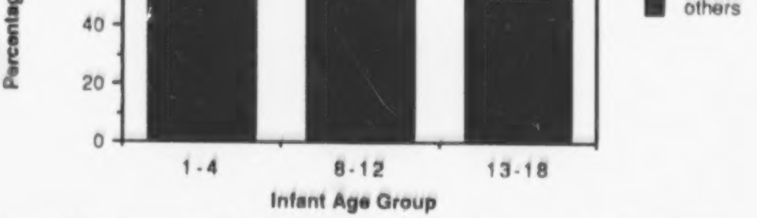

Figure 14.3. Percentage of time mother, father and others held infant in camp setting

infant experiences more activities with mother than with father. Mothers are more likely to care for the infant outside of the camp while on the net hunt, while fathers are most likely to provide care in the camp setting when mother is engaged in other activities (food preparation, cooking, collecting firewood, etc.).

Mothers and fathers are similar in the types of caregiving activities they provide the infant. Both mother and father hold the infant on their side, wash, clean, feed solid foods, delice and clean mucus from the infant's nose. Mothers, of course, nurse the infant, but I have seen several fathers offer their breast to their infant if she starts to fuss. Fathers also clean up after an infant defecates or urinates.

Quantitative studies of Aka mother's and father's interactions with infants (Hewlett, 1991a) indicate that fathers are more likely than mothers to soothe, show affection, clean and play with infants while holding them, whereas mothers are more likely to be feeding or transporting infants while holding them. It should be noted that father's play is not the vigorous or physical type of play often found with Euroamerican fathers.

Finally, the quality of parent–infant interaction is an important contributor to the development of autonomy and cooperation. Parents and infants do many activities together but it is important to understand how they are done. Quality of interaction is important, but especially difficult to measure. At this point I can only offer qualitative and indirect evidence for the quality of Aka parent–infant relations. Aka parents are sensitive caregivers; they generally do not perform their caregiving tasks in a perfunctory manner and respond to the infants initiative and attempts to communicate. The high frequency of face-to-face play during early infancy demonstrates, I believe, the parents interest to go beyond perfunctory care. Parents do not appear to feel uncomfortable, uneasy, or resistant to their caregiving role. Both mother and father intrinsically enjoy holding and caring for their infants. Parent are sensitive to their infants because they understand how to communicate with their infants; they know how to listen and respond appropriately to their infants signals and cues. Parent's sensitivity develops out of the incredible (by Western standards) amount of time parent and infant spend together in physical contact and the Aka parent's desire to communicate and play with their infants.

The nature of parent–infant relations influences the development of autonomy and cooperation. Parents are with their infants frequently, they do a diversity of activities with infants, and are sensitive caregivers. The frequency of contact encourages familiarity with each other's needs and detailed mechanisms of communicating. Parents learn to wait for infant initiative and can respond appropriately. This encourages the development of the infant's autonomy and his understanding of cooperation (i.e., through mutual reciprocity in communication exchange). Parents and infants do many activities together and this allows the infant to explore, understand, and demonstrate initiative in a number of different settings. This would also increase the infant's sense of autonomy. Finally, parents enjoy interactions with infants and want to learn to communicate with them. Infants are fun and not perceived as a burden to adult life. They are integral to adult life. The desire to communicate with the infant and high frequency of interaction with the infant encourage intimate reciprocal parent–infant interactions, and the consequent development of autonomy and cooperation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUTONOMY AND COOPERATION IN INFANCY

This section identifies stages in the Aka infant's development of autonomy and cooperation. Material from previous sections is incorporated into the descriptive accounts of these stages to help clarify the developmental sequence.

Autonomy and cooperation emerge during the first few months of the infant's life. Parents and infant are in direct skin-to-skin contact most of the day and night. This skin-to-skin contact encourages nonverbal communication between parent and infant. Aka infants do not have to fuss to indicate that they are hungry, tired or sick—Aka parents can usually tell when these states are occurring by how the infant moves and breathes. The infant is also carried on the parent's side which allows for face-to-face interaction and communication (rather than being placed on the mother's back as in many horticultural societies). While they are holding both mothers and fathers engage in regular face-to-face play with the infant during the day. Face-to-face play accounted for 65 percent of the play with infants 1–4 months of age. Fathers engaged in face-to-face play about four times per hour on average while holding their 1–4-month-old infants and mothers engaged in face-to-face play about two times per hour on average while holding their 1–4-month-old infants during the day. Aka parents listen and watch their infants intently in these playful episodes. Parents and infants communicate with their eyes, body movements, and sounds in this play. Face-to-face play with 1–4-month-olds is one of the mechanisms by which parents and infants learn to intimately communicate with each other. The infant learns about mutual reciprocity in these interactions—he or she learns to take in and respond to information. Once this cooperation between parent and infant is established, the infant is in a position to initiate interaction with the parent. The sensitive Aka parent then is able to read the infant's initiative and encourage the signals with appropriate responses. Autonomy develops as the infant feels secure (i.e., always held, fed on demand, immediate attention to fuss), and can take and is rewarded for initiatives to communicate feelings to her parents.

An infant establishes a sense of autonomy and a good understanding of cooperation in early infancy. In late infancy (8–12 months) the infant is able to crawl and possibly explore a variety of items in the hut and camp on her own. Older infants are held less frequently while in camp than the younger infants. Figure 14.3 indicates that older infants are held between 50 and 60 percent of the time while in camp. The rest of the time they are on their own exploring the hut and camp. Parents and adults value autonomy so the infants are allowed to crawl wherever they want and play with and manipulate whatever objects they may encounter. Parent-infant play of the older infants becomes predominantly object mediated rather than face-to-face. Fifty-four percent of 8–18-month-old parent–infant play is object-mediated (compared to 25 percent in early infancy) and less than 20 percent of 8–18-month-old play is of the face-to-face type (compared to 65 percent in early infancy). The older infant explores the leaves and branches of the hut, the father's hunting bags, the mother's gathering basket, the clay pots, father's cross-bow, the log bed, and so on. At this age infants are also allowed to play with and use knives, machetes, and sharp pointed objects, such as metal spear tips, digging sticks, and small spears. The infants I have seen using these "dangerous" objects explore them with confidence. They seem to be exploring its general properties (weight and texture) and seem to have some understanding of its basic function (e.g., digging, cutting). Parents and others do not try to grab these items away from infants even if they are sitting next to an infant with a sharp object. While the infants are relatively cautious with these objects, they have limited ability to use them properly. The infant might slam a machete on the side of the hut or jab at the ground with a digging stick.

Late infancy is also when Aka parents begin to directly teach their infants how to use subsistence implements. My observations indicate that this is most likely to occur out in the forest on a rest period on a net hunt. Rest periods last 15–45 minutes, and people sit around joking, socializing, and discussing the previous cast of the nets. While sitting down talking to another adult a parent might make a small spear or digging stick for their infant, who is generally in their lap, and show the infant how to use it by placing the object in the infant's hand and moving the object in the appropriate manner. The infant is allowed to use the object while they are resting. This age is exceptional in that it is the only age in which I have consistently watched parents directly instruct their children in subsistence skills. While parents provide direct teaching, most learning appears to be through observation, imitation, and experimentation. This openness to explore and experiment contributes to the development of autonomy. The environment continues to be secure in the ways mentioned above and the infant does not experience negation (e.g., told not to hold or touch this or that) as she explores the environment. When there are immediate dangers, for instance, when an infant crawls towards a fire, a parent goes over and moves the infant to another area rather than yelling *no! no!*

Autonomy is also encouraged as the infant crawls to people and tries to initiate actions with others. The infant crawls into the lap of those near the hut and is warmly accepted wherever she goes. The infants and others do not know each other as well as parents and infants, so others are especially likely to initiate play with the older infants to demonstrate their interest in the infant. Playful interactions are especially characteristic of other (than mother or father) infant interactions (Hewlett, 1991a). Seldom do infants at this age crawl very far from the hut. Most of their solo exploratory activity takes place in and around the parent's or grandparent's hut, which is generally a few feet away from the parent's hut.

An understanding of cooperation continues to grow as autonomy develops and the infant increases her abilities to communicate and interact with parents and others. The infant becomes self-assured, and learns that listening and mutual reciprocity are the best means of communicating with parents and others. Also, solid foods are a regular part of the diet by this age so the infant learns to eat out of the common pot with everyone else. The infant learns that solid foods come from many others in camp as generally two or three families make pots of food for all the other huts in the camp.

By one year of age the infant can walk reasonably well, can more easily explore the whole camp as well as parts of the forest while her parents are hunting and gathering. In camp, the 1-year-old infant is essentially on her own—she moves wherever she wants and interacts with most everyone in camp. Most of the infant's play in camp is solitary, but there are occasions throughout the day when the infant engages in cooperative subsistence or social (e.g., dancing, ritual, singing) play with other children. The other children in the camp enjoy teaching the 1-year-old how to dance, net hunt, or spear hunt as the infant often makes mistakes. Hitting or any other aggressive behavior is not tolerated so any time the infant hits a person or one of the older children hits the infant a nearby adult comes over and moves the infant to another area or activity. Outside of camp on hunting and gathering expeditions, the 1-year-old infant continues to be carried by his mother or father and is breastfed on demand. Subsistence toys get to be more elaborate during this stage. Parents may make a small basket, ax (with metal blade), or decorated digging stick or spear and carry it in the mother's basket so that during a rest on the net hunt they can take it out and let their infant play with it while they talk. Parents may give some instruction in the use of the tool, especially if the infant is not using it properly. But generally infants at this age know the function of the various subsistence implements, so they dig holes with the digging stick or try to cut down small saplings with the small ax. In camp the infants use these implements in their solitary play. By 18–24 months infants usually know how to cook some foods on the fire. I have seen 1-year-olds toast nuts and bananas and wrap meat in a leaf and put it on the fire. All of these experiences contribute to the development of the infant's autonomy and understanding of cooperation.

Autonomy and cooperation emerge at a very early age among the Aka and parents are primarily responsible for their emergence. But an understanding of the development of autonomy and cooperation go far beyond the parent-infant relationship. Parent–infant relations play an important role in the development of autonomy and cooperation, but parent–infant relations influence and are influenced by the cultural nexus in which they exist.

Autonomy and cooperation are desirable and adaptive (i.e., they may lead to increased survival and reproductive success) traits for Aka. Autonomy and cooperation are beneficial to and consistent with multiple dimensions of the culture—the husband–wife relationship, egalitarianism, immediate-return system, nonviolence, and demographic structures.

The cultural environment encourages autonomy and cooperation. The cultural environment: lacks violence and corporal punishment; lacks exclusionary settings for exploratory infants and children (i.e., infants and children are trusted to explore and experience any and all cultural settings—butchering of animals, birth of babies, circumcision, etc.); it is physically and emotionally reassuring as the infant is carried on the net hunt, breastfed on demand, sleeps with everyone in the family, and is attended to immediately if fussing occurs.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is certainly not unique to suggest that parent-infant relations influence social-emotional development. Many of the classic studies in developmental psychology have pointed to the importance of parent-infant (primarily mother–infant) relations in the social-emotional development of the child. This section examines some of these theories in light of the Aka data that have been presented.

Attachment Theory

Bowlby's (1969) work with nonhuman primates led him to hypothesize that an early secure attachment between infant and caregiver (usually mother) is crucial for normal development. A disrupted mother–infant relationship leads to the infant's protest, despair, detachment, and eventually difficulty in emotional and social development. Bowlby thought that attachment to a caregiver evolved through natural selection because attachment would have promoted the survival of the helpless infant by protecting him from predators or exposure to the elements. According to Bowlby, both infants and adults have innate mechanisms that contribute to the attachment process. Evolved mechanisms in newborns include crying, babbling, and spontaneous smiling, while mechanisms in older infants include sucking, clinging, crying, and social smiling. These behaviors help to ensure that the caregiver stays near the infant. Adults are also biologically predisposed to develop attachment because they respond to the signals of the infants. An infant's babyish appearance (large forehead, large eyes, and round prominent cheeks) is also known to elicit caregiving behavior (Lorenz, 1943).

Attachment theory is extremely popular today and has generated hundreds of studies. Ainsworth (Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969) developed the "strange situation" to determine whether mother–infant attachment is secure, avoidant, or ambivalent. Longitudinal studies indicate that securely attached infants develop autonomy, and a strong self-concept, and have normal social-emotional development in early childhood (Waters, Wippman, & Sroufe, 1979; but see Lamb, Thompson, Gardner, Charnov, & Estes, 1984, for a critique of this and other longitudinal studies on attachment). Ainsworth and her colleagues have also identified caregiving styles of mothers that contribute to secure infant attachment. These behaviors include sensitivity, acceptance, cooperation with the infant's ongoing behavior, accessibility, sociability, and ability to express positive emotions (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1971). These are essentially the behaviors that have been described for Aka parent–infant relations. Aka parents are extremely responsive to their young infants. Aka parents and infants are able to read each other extremely well. Aka parents know how to listen and respond to the details of the infants' messages.

What do the Aka have to contribute to a better understanding of attachment theory? The Aka provide a better understanding of infant–father versus infant–mother attachment, and can place attachment theory in a cultural context. All of the psychological studies mentioned above that have examined precursors or consequences to secure attachment have utilized infant attachment to mother to determine secure infant attachment. Parent–infant studies are often seen as synonymous with mother–infant studies. Psychological work in attachment is predominately mother-focused while the above description of the Aka is parent-focused—it includes both mother and father.

How is infant–father attachment different or similar to infant–mother attachment? The increasing number of developmental psychologists who have researched infant attachment to father focus on if and when the infant is attached to father (rather than determining if the attachment is secure or insecure) and how that attachment develops. Numerous psychological studies indicate that infants are attached to fathers and that the infants become attached to fathers at about the same age as they do to mothers (8–10 months of age) (Lamb, 1981). The question then arises: How does that attachment develop? Infant attachment to mother is known to develop through regular, sensitive, and responsive care. How does attachment to fathers develop if they are seldom with their infants to provide this type of care? Extensive studies of American, British, and Israeli fathers indicate that vigorous rough and tumble play is a key factor in how infants become attached to their fathers (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1987). Fathers are not around their infants to provide the sensitive care, but do have a love and interest in their infants and demonstrate this through vigorous play. Fathers take the vigorous initiative because their understanding of their infants' cues is generally limited. Infants often smile and laugh in response to their father's vigorous play. Fathers understand these signals and therefore feel they are communicating with their infants. Fathers do not know the detailed nature of the infants' signals and therefore cannot wait for the infant to initiate interaction. Infants do appear to enjoy this caregiving style because it is fun and dramatically different from that of the mother. An exception to this pattern was found in a study of Swedish families. Swedish fathers were not the physical playmates of their infants as was found in the American studies, but the study also found that the infants consistently preferred their mothers over their fathers (Lamb et al., 1982). The Swedish data are consistent with the other studies as it points to the importance of vigorous play to infant–father attachment.

The Aka data run counter to the existing hypothesis that is used to explain infant-father attachment. Aka fathers are regular, sensitive, and responsive caregivers of their infants. Fathers are within an arms reach of their infants 47 percent of the day and more likely than mothers to hug or soothe their infants while holding than are mothers. Fathers do not engage in the vigorous rough-and-tumble play with their infants found in Euroamerican studies. Others (besides mother and father) who hold the infant are much more likely to play vigorously with the infant. Infants are also clearly attached to their fathers. While I did not attempt to measure attachment with the "strange situation" because I thought it was culturally inappropriate, there is clear evidence that infants seek out their fathers. For instance, in the Aka study I coded reasons infants were picked up by caregivers. I did this because the Euroamerican studies indicated that fathers pick up infants to play with them. Aka mothers picked up their infants more than fathers to provide caregiving while fathers picked up their infants significantly more than mothers because of infant request; infants would reach for or crawl to their fathers simply to be held.

The Aka data set is small and limited but does suggest that infant attachment to mother and father can occur in the same way (see also Chapter 1, this volume). It makes sense that in Euroamerican cultures where fathers are often absent that they demonstrate their interest and concern for their infants through stimulating play. Euroamerican fathers do not have the ability to listen and wait for the infants cues and signals because they do so little caregiving. Mothers that work would also be expected to play more with their infants. Vigorous play is probably important for the establishment of infant–father attachment *in the white middle-class Euroamerican cultural context.* Attachment theory does not need to be rejected but needs to be placed in cultural context. The Aka cultural context is dramatically different from that of white middle-class Euroamericans: husband and wife cooperate together most of the day, there are no class distinctions as there are mechanisms to maintain equality, everyone sleeps together in a small bed, and so forth. Aka mothers and fathers are also regular and responsive caregivers. Vigorous play is not necessary because Aka fathers are intimately aware of other ways to communicate with their infants. It appears that "others" may use vigorous play to establish attachment, especially brothers and sisters, but that the process of infant–father attachment is not that different from infant–mother attachment.

THE PARENT'S CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND SOCIAL COMPETENCE

The work of Baumrind (1971, 1973) has led Maccoby and Martin (1983) and others (Rowe, 1989) to develop models that show a relationship between parental caregiving style and the child's social development. Table 14.1 outlines Maccoby and Martin's model that is based heavily on the research of Baumrind. The model identifies four types of parenting. Authoritarian parents have an absolute set of standards by which they attempt to control and shape their children, value obedience and respect, and discourage verbal give and take with their children. Authoritative or reciprocal parents allow for give and take and explain the reasons behind the discipline, but also use their power when necessary to firmly enforce and maintain set standards, expecting children to conform to adult requirements. Indulgent parents are accepting of their children, respond to their impulses and desires, use little punishment, make few demands, and do not use overt power to achieve their objective. Neglecting parents are generally unresponsive and rejecting of their children and do not place many demands on them.

Longitudinal research has demonstrated that preschool children raised with the reciprocal or authoritative parenting pattern become socially competent older children (8–10-year-olds). The authoritative parenting style has been statistically linked to competent, independent, cheerful, self-controlled, nonaggressive, and friendly behaviors in children. Children with authoritarian parents are described as lacking empathy, low in self-esteem, aggressive, low in initiative, and often withdrawn. Children of indulgent parents tended to lack social responsibility, and be aggressive, dependent, and have low impulse control (Baumrind, 1971, 1973).

How does this model apply to the Aka? The Aka do not fit the pattern of

Table 14.1. Four Patterns of Parental Caregiving

	Parental Warmth	
	Accepting Responsive Child-centered	**Rejecting Unresponsive Parent-centered**
SOCIAL POWER		
Demanding, controlling	Authoritative or Reciprocal	Authoritarian
Understanding, low in control	Indulgent or Permissive	Neglecting

Note: Developed from Maccoby and Martin (1983).

positive social development suggested by the model. Aka parents are not reciprocal or authoritative: the indulgent pattern characterizes Aka parents. They are extremely high on the parental warmth dimension, but low on the parental power dimension. They are accepting and responsive, and do not firmly or consistently enforce a set of standards. Aka children do what they want. For instance, Aka parents often ask older children and adolescents to collect firewood or water, and the children tend to neglect or refuse the requests of their parents. The parents eventually get up and go get the firewood or water on their own. It is my own feeling that the high autonomy of Aka children is, in part, responsible for the lack of sibling caregiving among the Aka. Earlier I offered an ecological explanation for the lack of Aka sibling caregiving—it is not possible for the older children to carry infants long distances on the net hunt. But what about older children helping out in camp where there are no such constraints. This does not happen, in large part, I believe, due to the inability of parents to demand anything from their children. Respect for and the development of autonomy is more important than obedience and respect for elders or parents. This point is demonstrated by a question that I asked a number of Aka parents. I asked Aka parents to tell me the things they liked and disliked about the childrearing practices of the Ngandu, their farming neighbors. The Aka did not like Ngandu childrearing patterns because the parents were always yelling at their children and sometimes hit their children, but they did like the fact that Ngandu children listened to their parents!

While the Aka parents are indulgent, their children have all of the characteristics described for the children with authoritative parents. Aka children are nonaggressive, cheerful, self-reliant, socially competent, and independent. The differences are again a consequence of different cultural contexts. The Aka cultural environment described above promotes the early development of autonomy and cooperation—landmarks in determining social development. American preschoolers, on the other hand, have generally grown up in an environment of negation and so have been unable to develop self-esteem. Americans call the age just before preschool "the terrible twos." This is in part due to the fact that the American 2-year-old is physically ready to develop autonomy, yet there are so many settings that are excluded from his or her exploration. The authoritative parent may allow for some development of autonomy in a consistent and supportive environment. American preschool children may need considerable direction and structure suggested by the authoritative pattern because American preschoolers have a relatively weak self-image. Aka children are already very self-reliant by preschool age. They can cook and forage on their own; they are allowed to explore and experiment in all cultural settings. Autonomy and cooperation, two important components of social competence, are already well established due to a dramatically different cultural context.

This does not mean that we should try to transplant the Aka parenting system into the American system. The cultural systems are distinctly different; to begin with, the American system is highly stratified while the Aka system is egalitarian. The indulgent pattern is adaptive and suited for the Aka and the authoritative pattern is important for positive social development in white middle-class American society. What the Aka do provide is an understanding of the diversity of parent–child relations, and extend our understanding of the nature of parent–child interactions. The Aka may also provide alternative choices for problem solving in American child development programs for parents who want to raise their children in an alternative way.

SUMMARY

1. Aka parent–child relations and social-emotional development take place in a cultural nexus. The immediate return economy, the organization of the net hunt, demographic structures, compactness of the settlement, egalitarianism, playfulness, and the husband–wife relationship all contribute to an understanding of parent–child relations and the development of autonomy and cooperation.
2. Aka infancy has a number of distinct features that contribute to social-emotional development: indulgence, multiple caregiving, high level of involvement by fathers, and a physically and cognitively stimulating environment.
3. Three important features of the parent–infant relationship that contribute to the early development of autonomy and cooperation are: the frequency of mother- and father-infant interactions, the diversity of activities mothers and fathers engage in with the infant, and the sensitivity of parent–infant interactions.
4. Autonomy and cooperation are established in the first four months of the infant's life through parent–infant interaction. The infant learns about mutual reciprocity in intimate communication with parents—he or she learns to take in and respond to information.
5. Aka infants do not become attached to their fathers through vigorous play as is found in many Euroamerican cultures. Aka infants become attached to their fathers and mothers in a similar way: Aka fathers and mothers are regular, sensitive, and responsive caregivers.
6. A permissive parenting style among the Aka promotes autonomy and cooperation in children, while the same permissive pattern in among American parents reportedly contributes to dependent and aggressive children. It is essential to understand the cultural nexus of parent–child relations in order to understand social-emotional development.

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15

The Cultural Context of Socialization: A Much Ignored Issue!

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In recent years we have witnessed unprecedented global economic and political changes that point to the interdependent nature of the world community. The last decade alone has marked the end of the Cold War, the reunification of East and West Germany, student uprisings and massacres in China, extreme famine in North Africa, and the release of Nelson Mandela and the hope for the abolishment of apartheid. At home in the United States, we are struggling with the "browning" of America and the needs of diverse and growing ethnic groups that do not fully share Euro-American values. At the same time, increased trade and travel to and from countries with peoples whose cultures are distinct but sometimes related to our own serve to remind us that never before in history has there been a greater need to understand the cultural dynamics of fellow human beings in other parts of the world.

For many decades, anthropologists have traveled to remote corners of the globe, often to cultures that are not well known to Western audiences, to observe and record human interpersonal relationships and attending cultural practices. Needless to say, these efforts have enlightened our intellectual curiosity of human relationships beyond those in our own mechanized society. Unfortunately, parallel attempts by psychologists to tease out the cultural specificity of parent–child relations in general have been slow in coming. With notable exceptions (see recent volumes by Lamb, 1987; LeVine, Miller, & West, 1988), discussions of parent–child relations and socialization patterns have largely encompassed data gathered on white middle-class families in Western industrialized nations.

The need for a volume such as this centers around four general issues: (a) to provide a platform for discussing theoretical/conceptual notions regarding parent–child socialization beyond traditional treatment of the topic, (b) to highlight shared knowledge and belief structures within culture about early patterns of socialization, (c) to underscore the common goals of socializing children to acquire skills that would enable successful adaptation within the immediate culture, and (d) to call attention to the need to train graduate and undergraduate students who will have a greater understanding of diverse cultural practices in early socialization and who subsequently will be responsible heirs in efforts toward broadening our knowledge base of human interpersonal functioning. Obviously, these issues are heavily interrelated. Let us examine them generally in the context of the contributions to this volume.

FROM TRADITIONALISM TO CULTURAL SPECIFICITY

Even today, classic presentations of child development and family theories rarely involve the treatment of cultural underpinnings to human behavior. Moreover, traditional theories presented by mainstream child development and family scholars are cast in a "universal" light as if the concepts apply to cultures beyond white middle-class families in mechanized societies (Chapter 14). Often, concern is with stages or phases, cosmologies or orderliness, and parsimony. While we are not questioning the relevance of traditional theories of parent–child relations for the socialization of white middle-class children in highly mechanized societies, their validity for explaining socialization patterns in other cultures must be examined. Further, it seems unwise to treat Euro-American middle-class families in the United States as homogeneous. Certainly, there is tremendous within- and between-group variations among people who share a common cultural heritage (see Mindel, Habenstein, & Wright, 1988). At best, traditional conceptual frameworks on parent–child relations continue to test the imagination, patience, and intellectual tolerance of researchers concerned with cultural diversity.

It is encouraging to note that some mainstream developmental psychologists along with a growing number of researchers interested in ethnic/cultural diversity have begun the task of unraveling the cultural specificity of parent–child socialization. Bronfenbrenner's (1986) *ecological model*, LeVine's (1974, 1988) *model of parental goals*, Ogbu's (1981) *cultural ecology model*, and the *bi-cultural model* (Peters, 1988) have all served to chart a course toward the examination of the context(s) of development. There is general agreement "that all human parents share the goals of survival, economic security, and locally defined virtue of their children" and "that their cultural codes reflect the opportunities as well as hazards of their historically conditioned environments and represent compromise formulas designed for the accomplishment of multiple goals" (LeVine, 1988, p. 6). Formulas for mastering the multiple goals of socialization are formed, then, through time-tested beliefs and refined cultural practices.

If we consider the fact that the "old" theories within psychology paid limited attention to the cultural context of human development, it is not difficult to point to their limited applicability. Yet these very theories guided much of what we know today about early socialization. It is also the case that notions of more valid general theories of socialization that may possess tinges of universalism may be outmoded and may actually be limiting in advancing conceptualizations of early parent–child socialization. It is clear that until researchers within human development move with force to incorporate culture-specific practices, we will remain distant from goals that seek to understand interpersonal relationships in diverse societies. The training of new researchers, too, will reflect the traditional frameworks and research output. But, more on this point later.

The question remains as to how one should proceed in delineating how culture influences parent–child relations. A logical progression and a traditional one would be to modify existing theoretical modes to make them more accountable for cultural variations in the process and social experiences integral to development of instrumental competencies. This is appealing but at once raises important questions. Can existing theories initially formulated on a particular population be sensitively modified to reflect the socialization opportunities and ingrained values of diverse cultures? The danger here involves using white middle-class groups in Western industrialized societies as a basis for constant comparison and reformulation of views on socialization. Should we treat traditional theoretical formulations as valid even when they have been substantiated on research that has disregarded within group variations in Euro-American populations? Newer theoretical formulations (e.g., Ogbu, 1981) have suggested that the cultures themselves would provide the clues in developing notions of socialization. If this is the case, then, an understanding of specific parental belief patterns, perceptions of children and their role(s) in society, folk beliefs and practices, religious doctrines, assumptions of individual responsibility within given social organizational and structural milieus, parental strategies, fertility rates, and a range of sociodemographic factors may serve as a guide to conceptual frameworks involving the context of development. Thus, beyond overall conceptions of survival and adaptation universalistic principles of socialization become obscured. The very cultural mechanisms that are in place and the processes employed in achieving desired cultural goals are the blueprints of socialization. The outcomes of particular modes of socialization then will be fashioned by the culture itself. Most likely the fashioning hinges on processes and outcomes of socialization that are intrinsically complex and convey different meaning and importance from culture to culture.

INDIVIDUALISTIC AND COMMUNALISTIC FAMILIAL CONTEXTS

Without doubt, the larger structural social organization of a culture is integral to the processes of socialization. Generally, in most industrialized societies the family assumes a more individualistic posture while in the nonindustralized societies in the world family socialization is tied to more communalistic familial arrangements. Even so, in industrialized societies such as the United States there is a good deal of variation among Asian-, Native-, African-, and Hispanic-American families in terms of structure. Depending on geographical location and economic mobility, families of color vary from nuclear units to more extended networks (see Chapter 7). Moreover, despite mass industrialization in Japan, families have maintained communalistic or interdependent socialization patterns (see Chapter 3). In the developing nations, too, there are changes in family structure that favor nuclear units (see Chapter 1). What, then, do we make of the mosaic of family structural and social organization?

In Sweden, Australia, and the United States, white families are more likely to adopt nuclear lifestyles (see Chapters 4, 7, and 8, respectively). The techno-economic goals of these societies promulgate parents to socialize their children to meet the futuristic goals of industrialization and sophisticated technology. Parents socialize their children toward the acquisition of specific skills (e.g., independence, achievement orientation) that will be of value in a productive economy. While Japanese families also focus on the socialization of skills that will enable adaptation in a highly industrialized economy, they emphasize interdependence.

By contrast in India, China, Marquesas, Puerto Rico, Turkey, the West Indies, and among the Aka, and to varying degrees Haitian and African Americans living in Miami, there is evidence of extended family networks (see Chapters 1, 2, 11, 12, and 13, respectively). In these societies, other adult members of the society and in some cases siblings (e.g., India and Marquesas) are quite involved in the socialization of children. Family boundaries appear less rigid. But, even among societies that appear communalistic in their social and structural organization, similarities in socialization patterns quickly disappear. In some, parents appear indulgent (e.g., Aka, Marquesan), while in others parents appear strict (e.g., black families in the West Indies), and there is a great variability in mother–child and father–child relations. For example, Aka fathers appear intimate while Chinese and Indian fathers appear distant and strict. In all three societies mothers are kind and indulgent. In some communalistic cultures parents socialize their children to meet the economic and social demands of everyday living, focusing on skills that will foster respect and care for elder members of society and skills that will enable compliance, cooperation, and group integration rather than competition.

PEDAGOGY AND SOCIALIZATION

Graduate and undergraduate training in child development often ignore the cultural and subcultural diversity illustrated in each of the chapters in this volume. In part, the focus within the social sciences on documenting consistent patterns in our data and, for developmentalists, our attempts to identify developmental constancies dictate that we will ignore differences as they emerge or attempt to explain them as deviations from some larger truth. In point of fact, by diminishing or ignoring differences that emerge cross-culturally, intraculturally, and among individuals, we present to our students a picture of familial relationships that is clearly inadequate. Unfortunately, this picture also may be an inadequate description of the processes operative in parental influences on the socialization of children.

A related problem is tied to the domination of patterns of parent–child socialization that have been structured by investigations of relatively homogeneous, Euro-American middle-class families by researchers in the United States. The dominance of these research findings and the acceptance of particular styles of childrearing and their influence on children's development as normative and as "scientific" facts belies the very definition of socialization as the process through which children become acculturated. Clearly, basic psychological concepts (such as adjustment), desirable behaviors, and other forms of acculturation will vary as a function of the norms of a particular culture at a particular point in time. Thus, we reasonably might expect to see both differences across cultures in what are deemed to be desirable developmental outcomes as well as intracultural differences (cohort differences) in the goals that parents set for their children's socialization. Our assumption, as scientists, that a particular definition of adjustment or instrumental competence is "correct" or even desirable is in direct contradiction to our implicit belief in the malleability and plasticity of human development. Different cultures and different eras may demand different modes of interaction and different developmental outcomes, all of which may be desirable in that particular context.

In part, ours is a call for both a great awareness of cross-cultural and intracultural diversity. However, training students to have a simple awareness of this diversity should not be a sufficient goal. Rather, we must also make students aware of the very human tendencies of ethnic and cultural egocentrism. Unlike simple ethocentrism, through which we may fail to recognize that cultures or subcultures may have values that are different from our own, the notion of ethnic/cultural egocentrism implies a tendency to view the world through our own particular biases and make judgments about the adequacy or inadequacy of particular forms of behaviors through reliance on our biases. Like other forms of role or perspective taking, reducing ethnic/cultural egocentrism will involve concerted mental effort. However, if our goal is to describe the processes underlying parent–child socialization practices in an attempt to understand them, the mental effort required will be energy well spent.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

It becomes clear from reading the chapters in this volume that formulating general conceptions of family socialization is an arduous and difficult task. Urban and rural differences, the complexities of industrialized and nonindustrialized societies, father–mother socialization, cultural beliefs and value structures, family structural and social organization, beliefs about children and their role in society, and general changes in policies and family social organization all affect the socialization of children across the world. To assume that any one theory would account for the impact of culture on socialization is foolhardy. What is clear is that an intellectual crisis exists in Western psychology. We have continued to ignore how culture influences socialization and have disregarded intracultural and intercultural variations in early parent–child socialization. As such, existing theories and frameworks have become outmoded and have always been culturally limited. To continue to push traditional theories as universalistic in their application may be erroneous. There is an even graver danger when scholars in other cultures import Western intellectual technology and cognitively bend their own cultural practices to fit into these frameworks.

Despite discussions of the cultural context of human development (e.g., Ogbu's, 1983; see *Child Development*, Vol. 61, 1990), cultural influences on early socialization remain peripheral to major child development and family theories. Perhaps the very nature in which "science" is conducted, largely in a quantitative mode, needs to be questioned. Qualitative studies may render more meaningful interpretation of how a culture imparts specific influence on early socialization. Most of the published cross-cultural work within developmental psychology pays lip service to the intricate organization of the everyday workings of the family and culture. Qualitative research can be used to buttress quantitative approaches to the study of early socialization (see Chapter 14, this volume).

As noted earlier, family socialization across the world does not fit neatly into agrarian and urban-industrialized categories as far as meeting the immediate challenges of different cultures. The structure of families and their social organization appear to be in flux in some societies. In Sweden, emphasis is on the democratization of the parent–child relationship with a focus on children's rights; in the Soviet Union changes in political and social ideology may have a distinct impact on established parental goals and strategies; in Spain families appear to question the role of Catholicism in family socialization. In China, too, family policy on the number of offsprings couples may bear and the gender of the offsprings would most likely lead to familial-structural and social organizational changes that may impinge on extended structural networks and filial piety. Similarly, migration from rural to urban centers in India, Spain, and Turkey may transform well-established familial functions and roles.

Intimately interwoven into changes in family structure and social organization are challenges to patriarchy. For the most part, women in the industrialized nations have challenged traditional role bifurcation. However, in quite a number of societies, men continue to assume an ancillary role in the process of early socialization and women continue to hold subordinate positions to men. There are signs that patriarchy is being challenged in a number of developing nations.

The challenge for researchers, then, will be to map the changes in early familial socialization that occur in concert with evolving familial organization and challenges to patriarchy.

In another vein, it is imperative that we document the impact of the child on its family and culture as well as the culture and family on the child. This bidirectional focus is not new to developmental psychology (see Bell, 1969) and becomes central in our understanding as to how a culture perceives, accepts, and socializes children. For example, in India, boys and girls bring different fortunes, woes, and levels of acceptance to early socialization, and in Japan children historically have been viewed as "Kodakara" (Child Jewel). Perceptions of children and how a culture manages to mesh those perceptions with children's own birthright and value to members of a society, its rituals, functions, and expectations are not well understood.

Finally, paradigms within anthropology in particular can provide useful tools to reframe our thinking within developmental psychology. The care with which anthropologists study elements of a culture including its history, folk beliefs, organization patterns, religious beliefs, and so on can be very instructional in reshaping psychological principles of family socialization across diverse cultures.

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